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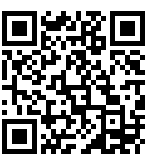

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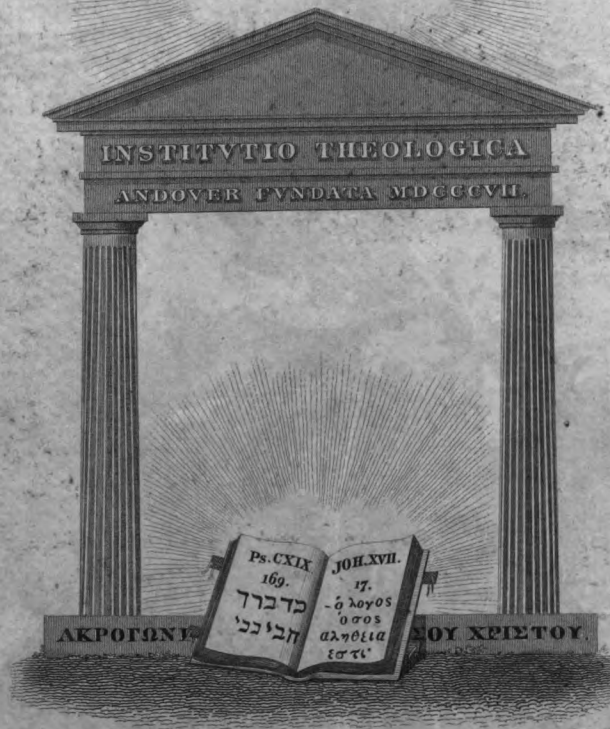

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A

CHURCH HISTORY

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

VOL. IV.

CONTINUATION TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451; AND CONCLUSION

RIVINGTONS

WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON

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TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451.

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.,

BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

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CHAPTER XIII.

S. Augustine's place in history in reference to Manichæanism—On the Inspiration and Interpretation of the Old Testament—His controversy with Donatism: On the true character of the Visible Church; On the Ministerial Commission; On Church Unity and Church Communion.

AUGUSTINE has a peculiar place not only on account of his personal history, but by reason of his work as a Teacher of the Church, and because of the influence of his teaching on succeeding generations.

The first heresy with which he had to deal was that of the Manichæans, of which he had been a votary for nine years—from his nineteenth year.

This heresy, an offshoot of Persian dualism, and of Gnostic systems,[1] especially those of Valentinus and Marcion, asserted the eternal existence of two antagonistic principles of good and evil, light and darkness;[2] in a word, of "two Gods;"[3] and the conflict and commixture of two natures, good and evil; and the struggle of the good to be purified from the evil.

[1] Manes, its founder, was born in Persia about A.D. 240. See above, vol. i. p. 371, and vol. ii. pp. 184, 200, 204.

[2] See Augustine's description of the Manichæan heresy, de Hæres. 46, vol. viii. p. 50, and his Works in Vol. vi. of the Benedictine Edition, and de Agone Christiano, c. 4; Neander, iv. 212—231.

[3] Aug. de Moribus Eccl. Cath. 16, "Duo Dii Manichæorum, unus bonus, unus malus; Deus bonus fecit mundum, sed non Deus Veteris Testamenti, quod culpant, sed non intelligunt."

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They affirmed that good souls were from the nature of the good God, and struggled to be free from commixture with evil; and that this struggle was assisted by those of their own Society, whom they called the Elect; who condemned marriage, and the procreation of children, and the use of wine, and professed to practise a rigid self-denial. But, says Augustine, they were guilty of licentious abominations, in order that by certain revolting processes,[4] especially by partaking of certain food, they might absorb evil, and free others from it, and restore them to the Kingdom of Light. They pretended that Christ Himself had come on a similar errand of purification, to deliver souls, but not to redeem bodies, and that He had no corporeal existence; and they consequently denied the Nativity, Circumcision, Temptation, the Resurrection of His body and of any other bodies. They said that His promise to send the Holy Spirit was fulfilled in Manes their Founder, who was a supreme, infallible, authority, by whose decrees, which they possessed, everything was to be judged. They affirmed with many of the Gnostics that the God of Moses and of the Old Testament was not the good God, but one of the Princes of Darkness.

They asserted that the origin of sin was not in the free will of the first Adam, tempted by Satan; but ascribed it to the substance of the Evil Principle, which they said was mingled with every man; and that the human body was not the work of the good God, but of the Co-eternal Evil Principle. They denied

[4] See Aug. viii. p. 50, and de Moribus Manichæorum, vol. ii. p. 1158, cap. 19 and 20. As to the exposure of their immoralities, see also Aug. c. Faust. v. 5.

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original sin, and asserted that concupiscence in man is not the frailty and corruption of man's nature originally formed by God, but an independent substance contrary to good, and existing in man; and that every man has two souls, the one good, the other evil, which are striving within him, and from the latter of which he is to be liberated by Manichæanism.

Augustine's resistance to Manichæanism was more effectual on account of his intimate acquaintance with it and its partisans. His refutation of their blasphemies, his exposure of their delusions, and his revelation of their impurities rescued many from them, and were probably the causes why little is heard of that heresy after the fifth century.

His refutation of their errors concerning the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and his defence of those Scriptures,[5] have a value for every age, and for none more than for the present.

He was the first great Writer of the Western Church who taught her[6] to look up to the Everlasting Word, the Son of God, Very God of Very God, as delivering the Written Word to the World by Moses and the Prophets, whom He sent; and as afterwards, when He became the Incarnate Word, setting His Divine seal upon the Old Testament, and avouching it in the eyes of the World by His divine authority.

The appeal to this infallible attestation of Christ to the Truth and Inspiration of the Old Testament, by which Augustine refuted the Manichæans, and estab-

[5] Especially in his great work Adversus Faustum Manichæum libri triginta tres, vol. vi. pp. 89—205, and Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum libri duo, vol. vi. pp. 243—267.

[6] See above, iii. 254, the passage from De Civ. Dei, xi. 2, and compare Contra Gaudentium, i. 38, vol. ix. p. 1006, "Legi et Prophetis et Psalmis Dominus testimonium perhibet tanquam testibus suis."

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lished the faith of the Church in its Truth and Inspiration on the Rock which is Christ,[7] can never cease to be made; and when made with power and clearness will never fail—if not to convince gainsayers—at least to satisfy all reasonable minds.

S. Augustine extended this proof to establish also the Truth, Integrity, and Inspiration of the New Testament, which the Manichæans said had been falsified, and parts of which they rejected.

Christ promised to be ever with His Church, and to send the Holy Spirit to lead her into all truth.[8] Augustine therefore affirmed that the Witness of the Church to the Inspiration of the New Testament is virtually the Witness of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, Whom He sent; it is a Divine Witness.

"The Canonical Authority," he says,[9] "of the Old and New Testament has been confirmed from the times of the Apostles by means of the succession of Bishops, and the propagation of Churches; and is planted aloft on a sublime pre-eminence above all other writings; and to it every faithful and devout intellect will reverently bow."[1]

This appeal to the *external* testimony of the Catholic Church, and virtually to Christ Himself in His own Body the Church, would, if duly considered, have preserved Christendom from the dangerous

[7] Matt. xvi. 18.

[8] S. Aug. de Consensu Evangelist. i. cap. ult., "Christ, Who sent the Prophets *before* His Coming down from heaven, sent His Apostles also *after* His Ascension into it; He wrote by their hands, and He has attested the writing by their voice."

[9] Contra Faustum, xi. 6.

[1] See also ibid. xxxiii. 9, "The authority of Scripture is paramount, being established from the time of Christ Himself by means of Apostolic ordinances and successions of Bishops from their days to the present."

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error which has prevailed and still prevails in many religious societies, of referring the question of the Truth and Inspiration to be decided by the mere *inner consciousness* of the individual man (however valuable in certain cases that may be); which cannot be any argument to any one besides himself, and may be even to himself a very precarious criterion; as is evident from the rejection of one Canonical Book after another, by the licentiousness of an arbitrary subjective Criticism, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, till in some cases the whole of the Sacred Volume has disappeared.[2]

Under the Providence of God, the Manichæan heresy, like other heresies which have disturbed the peace and tried the faith of the Church, was overruled for her good. It was made an occasion, under the controlling hand of God working by Augustine, for establishing the Truth and Inspiration of the Holy Scripture impugned by that heresy. It was also used by Him as an opportunity for vindicating the *true sense* and scope of Scripture, and for displaying them to future generations.

St. Paul, by whose teaching, more than by that of any man, Augustine's mind was disciplined, had shown that the history of the Church of God in the Old Testament, from the days of Adam[3] to Moses,[4]

[2] The members of the Anglican Church (as compared with the foreign Protestant communions of the sixteenth century, which, in their Confessions of faith, such as the Gallican, Helvetic, Belgic, &c., preferred the other method—i.e. the personal inner consciousness—the effects of which are now visible)—can never be sufficiently thankful that our English Reformers, who were diligent students of Augustine, placed the Canon of Scripture on its right foundation, the testimony of Christ in the Church Universal. See our Sixth Article.

[3] Rom. v. 12—20; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45. [4] 1 Cor. x. 1—11.

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was a *foreshadowing* of her history in the New, and that the veil would never be taken away from the hearts of the Jews in reading the Old Testament, till they had learnt to see Christ in it.[5]

S. Ambrose, to whose preaching at Milan Augustine had listened, as he tells us,[6] with delight, especially in his sermons on the Old Testament, had prepared the way[7] for the work which Augustine afterwards performed by a systematic exposition of it, especially in his writings against the Manichæans.

"We must look," he says, "for Christ in every part of the Old Testament; and when we see Him there, then we shall understand the Old Testament—but not till then.[8] The New Testament is enfolded in the Old; the Old is unfolded in the New.[9] The lives of the Hebrew Patriarchs were prophetical.[1] All the Prophets prophesied of Christ.[2] The whole Levitical Law of Sacrifice was a prophecy of the one Sacrifice of the Cross.[3]

[5] 2 Cor. iii. 13—16.

[6] Confessions vi. 4, where he mentions with gratitude the entire change that was wrought in his own mind with regard to the Old Testament by S. Ambrose's spiritual exposition of it, so that those things in it, which before "had seemed to him to be puerile and absurd," were now looked on in a totally different light.

[7] See above, pp. 73—75.

[8] "Omnia fere in Sacrâ Scripturâ vel de Christo dicta sunt vel propter Eum (c. Faust. xii. 7). Quicquid dubitationis habet homo in animo auditis Scripturis, a Christo non recedat; cum ei fuerit in illis Christus revelatus, intelligat se intellexisse." Epist. 132 in Ps. 96.

[9] Quæst. 73 in Exod. Qu. 33 in Numeros.

[1] Cont. Faust. iv. 1; xxii. 24. "At the same time we do not defend any sins of the Patriarchs, but we defend the Scriptures where they are recorded. We admire the Divine Mirror, but not all the human features reflected in it" (c. Faust. xxii. 65).

[2] Cont. Faust. xii.

[3] Ibid. xx. 18, "As the Sacrifice of the Levitical Law was a prophecy, so the Holy Eucharist is a Memorial of Christ's One Sacrifice."

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"As Adam was, according to St. Paul, the figure of Christ, so Eve the Bride of Adam, and the 'Mother of all living,' was the figure of Christ's Bride the Church; and as Eve was formed from Adam's side when asleep, so the Church was formed from the opened side of Christ sleeping in death on the Cross, by the sacramental streams of Blood and Water which flowed from it."[4]

By such teaching as this[5] Augustine refuted the cavils of the Manichæans against the Old Testament. He showed that those things in it which seemed to them—and which once had seemed to himself—to be trivial and frivolous, and even mean, absurd, and revolting, were designed to be trials of faith and humility; and, according to men's dispositions, would be stumbling-stones of error to some, and be stepping-stones of faith to others. He raised the Old Testament in the eyes of the World to a higher altitude and clearer atmosphere; he displayed it as shining with divine radiance from the countenance of Christ; and showed that, if rightly read and understood, it would be seen to have a message from Him to all nations and ages of the world; and thus to be commended by Him to acceptance, with spiritual and intellectual joy, by the faith of universal Christendom. And he delivered a warning from his own

[4] Aug. Serm. 5 and 22; and on John, Tract. 9 and 11; and on John xix. 34, 1 John v. 7.

[5] For further illustration of this subject, may I be permitted to refer to the Preface to my Commentary on the Holy Bible, and to the Introductions to the Books of Genesis, Leviticus, Joshua, and the Minor Prophets? The forgetfulness of S. Augustine's teaching in these respects has produced a servile, dry, and barren system of Interpretation, which has characterized many Expositions and Commentaries on the Old Testament in modern times, and has done much to bring it into contempt, and to produce Scepticism.

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experience, which ma y be instructive in modern times, that Scripture can never be understood by the proud, nor be received otherwise than by humility. "When I was young," he says,[6] "I approached the Scriptures with shrewdness of disputation, but not with reverential inquiry. I tried to break open the door of Scripture by violent assaults. But I found that I shut it more closely against myself. And why? Because I sought with pride, what can only be found by humility."

What the Manichæan Controversy in the hands of Augustine was with regard to Holy Scripture, that the Donatistic Controversy was with respect to the Church.

The rise and progress of Donatism have been already described.[7]

That Controversy between the Donatists and the Catholics, which had harassed the African Church in the days of Constantine, assumed larger proportions in those of Honorius, the son of Theodosius. The principal champion of the Church was Augustine.

He and the other Catholic Bishops sent envoys to the Emperor Honorius with a request that he would summon the Bishops of both sides to meet at Carthage, where each party should choose its own representatives, to debate the controverted questions at a Conference. The Emperor acceded to the request; and he complied with the desire more readily, because the Donatists concurred in it.

Honorius addressed a rescript to Flavius Marcellinus, one of his principal Commissioners in Africa, and appointed him as Delegate to preside at the Conference. Marcellinus was a Catholic, distinguished

[6] Serm. 51. Cp. Ps. 93, 103.

[7] Above, vol. i. pp. 404—410; ii. p. 96.

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by prudence, diligence, moderation, and equity, which were evinced by his management of the Conference. S. Augustine eulogizes him for his love of Holy Scripture, for his fervent piety, his holiness of life, his charity, probity, mildness, and affability.[8] Indeed, on account of his zeal for the truth, and of his sufferings even unto death in a good cause, he is revered as a Martyr by the Church.

This Conference of the Bishops met in the summer of A.D. 411, and after three days' patient hearing of the cause, Marcellinus delivered an elaborate judgment in favour of the Catholics, which was published June 26—eighteen days after the opening of the Conference.[9]

The Acts of the Conference were read annually in the Church of Carthage and Hippo, and other Churches of Africa; and as they were found too prolix for the purpose, S. Augustine undertook to abridge them, in order to render them more acceptable to the public.

This Conference did much to heal the Donatistic Schism, and many Donatist Bishops and their congregations returned to the Unity of the Church.

The questions at issue were—

1. Whether a perfectly pure Church is to be looked for on earth?

2. Whether sins and errors of Bishops and Priests vitiate the Ordinations conferred, and the Sacraments administered, by them?

3. Whether it is lawful to depart from their communion, and set up a rival Church in opposition to

[8] See the passages in Tillemont, tom. xiii. pp. 501, 502, 554.

[9] Cp. Tillemont, Mém. xiii. 551; Fleury, Hist. Eccl. xxii. 25, c. 39.

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them—as was done by Donatist Bishops against Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage and the Catholics?

The first question was answered in the negative by Augustine, appealing to passages in Scripture which declare the condition of the Church on Earth to be *imperfect* and *mixed*. The Church, while she is in this world, is typified by the Ark, which contained unclean as well as clean animals, a Ham as well as a Shem and a Japhet;[1] and is described in our Lord's parables as a field having tares mingled with wheat; as a threshing-floor having chaff as well as good grain; and as a net enclosing bad fish as well as good;[2] and so she will continue to the end.

As to the second question there was much greater difficulty. The Donatists could appeal to the writings and acts of the great African Bishop and Martyr S. Cyprian; to the Councils of African Bishops in A.D. 255, 256, acting with him, who had affirmed that heretics were no part of the Church, and that baptism administered by them was *no baptism*.[3]

By parity of reasoning, Cæcilian, having been consecrated (in A.D. 311) by Felix of Aptunga, who, as they affirmed—but could not prove—had lapsed in persecution, was no Bishop at all.

Augustine was not dismayed by these allegations. While he treated the memory of Cyprian with veneration, he showed good reason for dissenting from his opinion,[4] which had indeed been condemned by

[1] Aug. c. Faust. x 15.

[2] Ibid. viii. 14, 15; in Joann. Tract. 12 and 61; de Fide, 5; in Ps. 8 and 55; Epist. 108.

[3] See above, vol. i pp. 315, 316; and cp. Hooker, III. i. 9, and V. lxii. 6—9.

[4] Aug. de Bapt. i. 18; iii. 3, 4; iv. 6; v. 16, 25; Serm. 37; in Petilian. c. 14.

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Bishops of Rome, and by subsequent Councils of the Church.[5] He affirmed that Ordinations conferred, and Sacraments administered, by Bishops and Priests derive their validity from Christ, Who appointed and instituted those Ordinations and Sacraments, and not from those who confer and administer them; and that their validity is not vitiated by errors and sins of those persons; and that while men ought to avoid their errors, and not partake in their sins, they may not refuse—but ought thankfully to receive—the good gifts of Christ, which are dispensed by their hands; and that to set up a rival communion against them—as the Donatists did against the Catholics—on the plea that they were infected by spiritual contagion derived from Cæcilian and Felix of Aptunga, was to be guilty of the sin of Schism; and that, though it was not to be denied, that grace might be dispensed by means of Donatist Bishops and Priests, yet such grace was *not profitable* to them and their adherents,[6] because nothing profits without charity (1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2), and because no one can be rightly said to have charity who tears asunder the unity of Christ's Body which is the Church.[7]

It is not to be supposed, that Augustine, in his zeal for the maintenance of Christian Unity and Church Communion, would have contravened any commands of Scripture or of the Church Universal in doctrine or discipline. The African Bishops with him resisted

[5] Jerome c. Lucifer. p. 303, "Illi ipsi Episcopi, qui rebaptizandos hæreticos cum eo statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti novum emisere decretum." Cp. Concil. Arelat. can. 8; Concil. Nicæn. can. 19.

[6] In Joann. Tract. 6 and 14; Epist. 89; c. Donat. i. 18; iv. 21; c. Crescon. ii. 12; c. Petil. 15.

[7] "Non habent Dei caritatem, qui non diligunt Ecclesiæ unitatem," c. Donat. iii. 21.

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Zosimus, Bishop of Rome, when he favoured Pelagianism;[8] and they opposed Popes Zosimus and Cælestine when they promoted the appeal of the African Priest Apiarius, who had been excommunicated by Bishops of Carthage.[9]

They communicated with the Church of Rome as far as she was a Church of Christ, but would not communicate with her in any error contrary to His Word.

By such teaching and acts as these, Augustine solved difficult and critical questions, which have never ceased to disturb the minds of some, from his days to our own; and which under the guidance of his example were happily determined by the best divines of the Church of England at the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and by their successors in the seventeenth; and which deserve careful consideration at the present day.

Is the ministerial commission of Bishops and Priests of the Church of England vitiated by transmission through Bishops and Priests of the Church of Rome? If it is not vitiated thereby, then it is a schismatical act to separate from the Church of England. But if it is not vitiated, then the question arises, Was the Church of England justified in her separation from the Church of Rome at the Reformation, and is she justified in persisting in that separation?

And if she was justified in separation from Rome, are not other religious bodies in England justified

[8] Aug. c. Epist. Petil. ii. 3; de Pecc. Orig. c. 8. Zos. Epist. 3, 12. Cassian, Coll. c. 10.

[9] Aug. Epist. 262. Tillemont, xiii. § 292. Conc. Carth. iii. 47. Fleury, xxiv. 6, 10, 11, 24, 35.

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in separating from *her?* What right has she, who is separated from Rome, to regard those religious bodies, which are divided from her, as guilty of schism? Her Reformers, it is alleged by Nonconformists, set up a new Church of England at the Reformation. Why should she complain that others imitate her example, and set up new churches in opposition to herself?

These questions are important, and deserve calm and careful consideration. They were virtually answered by anticipation by Augustine in his controversy with the Donatists; and his answers have a value for the Church which it is not possible to exaggerate. Her Unity, and consequently her efficiency for the work of Christ, depend upon a right reply to these inquiries.

The answers suggested by Augustine are these: The commission of Bishops and Priests of the Church of England is not vitiated by having been transmitted *through* Bishops of the Church of Rome; it does not come *from her*, but from *Christ* and His Apostles; and it is no more vitiated by transmission through her, than the commission of Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, and his successors was vitiated by being transmitted through Felix of Aptunga, supposing him to have lapsed in persecution; or than the baptism of thousands in Africa was vitiated by being administered by some Clergy who had lapsed into Arianism after the Council of Rimini.[1]

But was it not then a schismatical act on the part of the Church of England to separate from the Church of Rome at the Reformation? And if it was

[1] See above, p. 167, the argument of S. Jerome against the Luciferians.

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not a schismatical act on her part to do so, why may not any man, or any set of men, separate from the Church of England, and set up an antagonistic religion and a rival communion in her Dioceses and Parishes?

The answer which Augustine gave by anticipation to this question was,—You may not communicate with Rome *in any error* of doctrine or discipline, as we did not communicate with her, but resisted her in her encouragement of Pelagianism, and in her uncanonical reception of the appeal of Apiarius from the judgment of his own Diocesan and Metropolitan. But no Church may *voluntarily separate herself* from another Church in what is sound in doctrine and regular in discipline.

This is the lesson which our greatest divines, such as Richard Hooker[2] and Bishop Sanderson,[3] learnt from Augustine.

How, then, did the Church of England become separate from Rome? Not by any *voluntary* act on

[2] See Hooker, III. i. 10; also Hooker, V. lxviii. 6—9, "With Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian doctrine wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; that is, on account of the gifts which they have from Christ, we acknowledge them to be a Church, and so far as we lawfully may, we hold fellowship with them."

[3] Bp. Sanderson, Serm. xi. § 9, vol. i. p. 278, "The Bishops of Rome, by obtruding their own inventions, both in faith and manners, under pain of damnation, became the authors and are the continuers of the widest schism that ever was in the Church of Christ." But yet Bp. Sanderson says (Preface to his Sermons, vol. ii. p. xliii) that "the greatest promoters of the Roman interest among us are they who, among other false principles, maintain that the Church of Rome *is no true Church*." Rome is not a *right* Church; she is a corrupt and erring Church in many things, but yet in essence she is a Church, by reason of those gifts of Christ which she still retains. See Abp. Laud against Fisher, p. 105, ed. Oxf. 1839.

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her part (all *voluntary* schism is sinful), but because the Church of Rome "obtruded her errors on all men, on pain of damnation," and because Rome made communion in her *errors* to be essential to communion with *herself*.

If the Church of England imitates Rome in that respect,—*if* she enforces heresies on any one as terms of communion with herself,—then those religious communities, which have separated from the Church of England, and have set up rival churches, are justified by the example of her separation from Rome—but not otherwise.

But the English Reformers did not set up any new Church at the Reformation. They put forth no new Creed; they instituted no new Sacraments; they appointed no new orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. No; they retained the old, which they cleared from sundry corruptions which in the course of ages had adhered to it; and thus they brought it more nearly to the primitive Church as founded by Christ Himself. They therefore gave no countenance or precedent to any who set up new Churches of their own making, in opposition to the ancient Apostolic Catholic Church, planted in England by the good providence of God.

Such is the answer of the Church of England, profiting by the teaching and example of the African Church guided by the wisdom of S. Augustine.

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CHAPTER XIV.

S. Augustine's place in Church History with regard to Pelagianism; Divine Grace, Human Free-will; Election, Reprobation.

IN one of his later Epistles,[1] written A.D. 417, Augustine says, "Some persons (i.e. Pelagians) who cannot dive into the inscrutable reasons, for which God makes one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour, out of that mass of Adam, which has utterly fallen into condemnation from sin, are bold enough to say that Infants are the cause of their own sins; and that by their own free-will they deserve either punishment or grace; whereas the Apostle says that all are born from one man to condemnation;[2] and if they are born anew, it is not by their own merit, but by God's mercy and grace."

He then adds, "Whenever the grace of mercy is bestowed on any one, it is by no merit of his own; and when punishment is inflicted on another, he has no reason to complain; for he receives that which is rightly due to sin, since the one man (Adam) in whom all sinned, is justly punished in every one of those who sinned in him."

The opinion, therefore, of Augustine was, that since the fall of Adam human nature is a corrupt mass

[1] Epist. 186. [2] Rom. v. 16.

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liable to God's wrath and punishment; and that while He in His mercy chooses some out of that corrupt mass by an eternal decree of predestination to eternal life, He leaves others subject to eternal damnation by reason of their being in that mass of corruption derived from Adam's sin.[3]

And again[4] he asks,—quoting St. Paul's words,[5] "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,"—"What did St. Paul mean by this, but that out of that mass of the first Man, to which death is justly due, it is only of God's mercy that any one is chosen? So there is no injustice in God if others are left in it. The one, who is guilty, is justified and rewarded by God's free grace; the other who is equally guilty is punished, without any injustice on the part of God Who punishes."

And again he says, "The whole mass is liable to death, because 'by one man's sin death entered into the world,[6] and passed upon all men because all sinned' in him; and there is no injustice in God. His judgments are unsearchable, and His ways past finding out."[7] *Why* He has mercy on some and not on others, we do not know;[8] but we are sure that whether God acts in mercy or by punishment, He acts justly, and deals with all according to their deserts."

He also defends this doctrine on the ground that by God's dispensation some are baptized, and others not; and that this is not so by any fault of their own; and he affirms that they who are *not* baptized cannot be supposed to be saved, but are liable to future punishment.[9]

[3] Cp. Enchiridion, c. 98. [4] Epist. 186. [5] Rom. ix. 15.
[6] Rom. v. 12. [7] Rom. xi. 23.
[8] Cont. duas Epist. Pelag. iv. 16. [9] Epist. 186, n. 28, 30.

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He even extends this statement to the non-recipients of the Holy Communion, which he declares to be necessary for infants.[1] All men except One—namely, Jesus Christ[2]—were conceived and born in sin.

No one, he says, is regenerate, or capable of salvation, without baptism.[3] By baptism all are regenerate; but God gives the *gift of perseverance* to a certain number whom He has predestinated from Eternity, and withholds it from the rest, for reasons known to Himself alone.[4]

Augustine found himself constrained by such propositions as these to force a strained gloss upon St. Paul's words, "God willeth *all men* to be *saved*" (1 Tim. ii. 4), and to interpret them[5] as meaning that all men who are saved will only be saved by God's will; and he says "that grace is not given to all,[6] and that to whom it is denied, it is denied by the just judgment of God."

He also seems to explain away Free-will, by saying that the will is only free when it is not swayed by concupiscence, and when it is under the absolute dominion of divine Grace.[7]

At the same time he frankly confesses, that the whole question of Grace and Free-will is "a very difficult one, and intelligible only by few."[8] He

[1] Quoting John vi. 49, 50, 54. See also Epist. 187, n. 20, 25, and Contra duas Epist. Pelag. i. 40; iv. 4.

[2] Epist. 187, n. 31. Augustine does not except the Virgin Mary: cp. c. Julian. vi. p. 2101, "Maria de carnali concupiscentiâ nata est;" and so ibid. v. p. 1133, and De Pecc. Meritis, ii. 24.

[3] Epist. 187, n. 26—29, 31—34, and Epist. 215.

[4] De Dono Perseverantiæ, 21, 28, 29; de Correptione et Gratiâ, c. 28.

[5] Epist. 217, "Omnes qui salvi fiunt nisi Ipso volente non fiunt." Cp. Enchirid. c. 97—103; de Civ. Dei, xxii. 1, 2; c. Julian. iv. 8.

[6] Epist. 217, n. 16.

[7] De Correptione et Gratiâ, 42.

[8] Epist. 214, 215.

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asserts plainly that all men are to be judged according to their works;[9] and he asks pertinently, "If there is no such thing as God's Grace, how can God *save* the world? and if there is no such thing as human Free-will, how can God *judge* the world?"[1] At the same time he interposes a warning against the supposition that man's Free-will is inherent in his nature, or is given to man for any merit of his own, or is other than a free gift of God's Grace.[2]

Such maxims as the following[3] occur in his writings:—"God's Grace prevents (goes before) men in order that they may will; and follows them when willing, in order that they may not will in vain." "When God rewards your deeds, He crowns His own gifts." "Whatever you do well, is a proof of what you owe to God." "Prayer is a gift of grace, which is called *Grace* because it is given *gratis*. O my God, what am I without Thee? a leader to a precipice. 'O God, give me what Thou commandest, and then command me what Thou wilt.' If we wish to defend our own Free-will, let us not impugn God's Grace, by which our will is free. Man does not force facts to be facts, by remembering them; and God does not force events to be events, by foreseeing them. Good men are sure that those who persevere will be rewarded, but they are not sure that they *themselves* will persevere."

After all, in one of his last letters, written only three years before his death, to some who remonstrated

[9] Epist. 214. [1] Ibid. [2] Epist. 216.

[3] These were collected by Prosper Aquitanus, and may be seen in the Second Part of the Tenth Volume of the Benedictine Edition of Augustine's Works, pp. 2562—2619 (ed. Paris, 1838), with references to the passages where they occur.

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against his theory, as tending to engender either presumption or despair; and to take away from the Clergy the duty of preaching to the people on their moral responsibilities, and on their obligation to work out their own salvation; and to discourage the laity from listening to such appeals, he gives this wise counsel:[4] "My dearest friends, whoever says, 'My will is sufficient to enable me to do good works,' swerves to the right hand; but, on the other side, they who think that a virtuous life is to be relinquished, when they hear the grace of God so preached as to suggest that it makes men's evil wills to be good, and keeps them such; and who therefore say, 'Let us do evil that good may come,' they swerve to the left hand. Do not ye swerve either to the right hand or to the left; that is, do not so assert man's free-will as to attribute good works to it without God's grace, nor so defend God's grace, as to presume upon it, and to love evil works. May God's grace keep you from this! Remember the Apostle's words (Rom. vi. 1, 2), 'Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein?' That man is ungrateful to God for the gift of His grace, who lives in sin by reason of that grace through which he is dead to sin."

On the whole, Augustine's teaching on Predestination, so far as Reprobation is concerned, seems to have been rather that of speculation than of practice. In his Sermons that are extant, about four hundred in number, to say nothing of his many homilies on the Psalms and St. John, there is not, I think, one, in which that theory is introduced, or in

[4] Epist. 215.

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which his hearers are regarded as otherwise than beloved of God, and as designed by Him for eternal salvation through Christ.[5]

Augustine fixed his eyes intently on the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,[6] in which St. Paul declares the Omnipotence and Omniscience of God; but he does not seem to have duly considered the scope and design of that Epistle, which[7] was to show the universal sinfulness of Mankind,[8] and the consequent universal need of a Redeemer, and the Universality of Redemption provided for Mankind by God in Christ. Especially he does not appear to have duly considered the statements in the fifth chapter, which he read in an inadequate Latin translation;[9] and in which St. Paul represents God's love to man in Christ, and the Universality of Redemption wrought for man by Christ, the Second Adam, as the antithesis and remedy for the corruption inherited by all men from the first Adam; a statement con-

[5] In one of his latest works, "De Prædestinatione sanctorum," he gives cautions as to the preaching of Predestination. Cp. Neander, iv. 394, 395.

[6] St. Paul's statements in Rom. ix. were occasioned by a consideration of the cause of the *rejection of the Jews;* and at the end of that chapter it is expressly said by the Apostle (*v.* 32) that this was caused by *their own sin* in seeking for righteousness not by faith, but by works; and it is also declared by St. Paul (*v.* 33) that "*whosoever believeth* on Him (Christ) shall not be ashamed." Consequently in that chapter, which has been made the stronghold of Calvinism, there is no countenance given by St. Paul to the doctrine of absolute Reprobation; and (as Bp. Pearson has well remarked in his Minor Works, i. 25) that chapter was never quoted by any Father of the early Church in favour of Predestination.

[7] As it has been the Author's endeavour to show in the Introduction to that Epistle in his edition of the Greek Testament.

[8] Cp. Bp. Sanderson on Predestination, Works, iii. 304—306, ed. Jacobson.

[9] See above, vol. iii. p. 288, with Bentley's remarks.

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firmed in other places by the Apostle, as when he says that God willeth *all men to be saved*,[1] and delivered His Son up for *us all*,[2] Who gave Himself a ransom *for all*,[3] and tasted death for *every man*;[4] and, "as by the offence of Adam judgment came upon *all men* to condemnation, so by the righteousness of Christ the free gift came *upon all men* unto justification of life."[5] And our Lord Himself declares, that "it is not the will of your heavenly Father that one of these little ones should perish."[6]

Augustine also does not seem to have given sufficient weight to the declarations in Scripture, which assert man's freedom of will to choose life,—"I have set before thee good and evil, life and death; therefore choose life,"[7]—and which affirm that man's destruction is no act of God's will, but of man's own choice,—"As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Why will ye die, O house of Israel?"[8] "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself."[9]

In his laudable endeavour to assert the need and efficacy of divine Grace, and the attributes of God, S. Augustine does not appear to have adequately considered that God willed man to be a free agent, and that man's Will is a gift of God, and that his Reason also and Conscience are God's gifts; and that to deny man's co-operating agency in the work of his salvation is a disparagement of God Himself, Whose creature man is, and Who has willed man's will to be free; and has implanted in him reason and conscience, and has given him His own Son to redeem him, and

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 4. [2] Rom. viii. 32. [3] 1 Tim. ii. 6.
[4] Heb. ii. 9. [5] Rom. v. 18. [6] Matt. xviii. 14.
[7] Deut. xxx. 15, 19. [8] Ezek. xxxiii. 11. [9] Hos. xiii. 9.

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His Holy Spirit to sanctify him, and His Holy Word to guide him, and His Holy Sacraments to regenerate and strengthen him.

Augustine had been a victim of the Manichæan heresy for nine years; and it is probable that he was driven by an excess of reaction to the extreme length of opposition to it.[1]

In dealing with this difficult question, it is satisfactory to be able to refer to the judgment of others, and especially of one, who, among the divines raised up by God in His goodness to the Church of England, seems most worthy to be compared to Augustine—Richard Hooker.

In a treatise which he wrote at the close of his life on Predestination and on kindred points, and which, having been lost for more than two centuries, has been recovered[2] and published for the first time in our own day,[3] Hooker describes the heresy of Pelagius. He points out his abuse of the word *grace*, and shows[4] that God's primary will is the salvation of all men; and that He willed all men to have free will; and that thence, *per accidens*, came a power in man to *do evil* as well as good, and so evil came into the world,[5] and consequently punishment, justly due to sin; and degrees of punishment proportioned to degrees of wickedness.

"But lest only wrath and justice should take effect,

[1] See his comparison of Pelagianism and Manichæanism in his Second Book against Julian, Bishop of Eclanum.

[2] By Archdeacon Cotton and Dr. Elrington in the Dublin Library. See Keble's Hooker, i. p. xvii, and ii. p. 683, ed. Oxford, 1836.

[3] By Mr. Keble in his edition of Hooker's Works, Oxford, 1836.

[4] Hooker, vol. ii. p. 716.

[5] P. 720. Cp. Bishop Butler on the Origin of Evil, consequent on the Freedom of man's will; Analogy, Part i. chap. v.

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and love and mercy be without exercise, by reason of sin, God did not suffer His preparations for man's eternal life to be thus frustrated.

"He bestoweth now eternal life as His own free and undeserved gift; together also with that general inheritance and lot of eternal life, great variety of rewards proportioned to the very degrees of those labours which to perform He by His grace enableth."

"The evil of sin is within the compass of His *prescience*, but not of His *predestination;* the evil of punishment is within the compass of His fore-determining will, but by occasion of precedent sin. Punishment is no desired end to God's will, but a consequence of man's sin."

"God's prescience foresees all things that will be, but forces nothing to be.[6] He that willeth the *end* (viz. man's eternal happiness) must also will the *means* by which we are brought to it. And our fall in Adam being presupposed, the means which serve as causes effectual by their own worth to procure us eternal life are only the merits of Jesus Christ. God being desirous of all men's salvation hath in token thereof, for their sakes whom He loved, bestowed His beloved Son. The wicked, at the day of doom, will never be able to allege for their excuse that He which offered Himself to save some did exclude the rest. He paid the ransom *for the whole world.* On Him 'the iniquities *of all* were laid.' And as St. Peter[7] plainly witnesseth, He *bought* them which *deny* Him, and which perish because they deny Him. He tasted death for *every man.*"[8]

Hooker then inquires,—Why all are not saved,

[6] Cp. Bp. Sanderson's Works, iii. 394, "All events are foreseen of God, but His prescience does not lay any necessity at all upon any event." [7] 2 Pet. ii. 1. [8] Heb. ii. 9.

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if God wills all to be saved, and if Christ died to save all? He replies that it comes from man's sin, and that God has not decreed to condemn any one without foresight of sin as a cause. The place of Judas was "*locus suus,*" the place he had made for *himself.*[9] Devils were not ordained of God for hell fire; but hell fire for them (Matt. xxv. 41). "Reprobation presupposeth foreseen sin as a most just cause thereof."

He then speaks of Augustine's part in the Pelagian controversy. "When Pelagius, to the utter overthrow of soundness in Christian belief, had denied that man is born in original sin, and taught that every man hath in himself the power to accomplish his own salvation,[1] S. Augustine, to repress so intolerable pride and presumption against God, was drawn *by degrees* from the consideration of what man doeth by way of duty towards God to the contemplation of that which God did by way of secret decree and purpose concerning man, before the foundations of the world were made.

"Augustine's opinion was *at the first,*[2] that God, foreseeing those who would believe and those who would not, did, for their belief's sake, choose the one sort, and reject the other for their incredulity; that unto them, whose belief He foresaw, the grace of well-doing was also fore-ordained, the rest forsaken, left, and given over to be hardened in their impiety; that faith was the *cause* of all men's election.[3]

[9] Acts ii. 45. [1] Cp. Aug. de Libero Arbitrio, i. 10, 13; iii. 16, 17.

[2] Exposit. §§ 60, 62, ad Rom. ix., and in his treatise de Libero Arbitrio, and Hilary's Epist. to Aug. Epist. 226.

[3] Might not this statement have been qualified by saying that, in Augustine's view, the merits of Christ are the only *cause* of any man's salvation, but that man's faith is a necessary *condition* of it?

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"But the error of Pelagius," says Hooker, "gave Augustine occasion to retract this sentence,[4] which maketh faith to prevent grace, and the election of God to follow on the foresight of our virtue."

"Augustine's *latter* judgment, therefore, was that the whole body of mankind, in the view of God's eternal knowledge, lay universally polluted with sin, worthy of condemnation and death; that over this mass of corruption there passed two acts of the will of God; an act of favour and grace choosing part to be made partakers of everlasting glory; and an act of justice forsaking the rest and adjudging them to endless perdition; that the number of the elect is definitely known, and cannot be increased or diminished; as for others on whom such grace is not bestowed, there is justly assigned to them the lot of eternal condemnation.[5]

"The publication of these things, never before descended into, troubled exceedingly the minds of many. For a time they rested silent, as if some thunder from heaven had astonished them, till at length a part of the Clergy of Marseilles in France, and sundry others,[6] began to doubt as to that Grace and Predestination which S. Augustine, the glory of those times, had delivered. As to Predestination, they questioned, whether certain persons are absolutely ordained to life, or whether every man living

[4] Aug. Retract. i. 23, de Prædest. Sanct. c. 3.

[5] Aug. de Nat. et Grat. c. 5; contra Julian. v. 6; de Corrept. et Grat. c. 7 and c. 13.

[6] Especially some of the monastery of Adrumetum, in the Byzacene Province of Africa, to satisfy whom Augustine wrote his treatises de Libero Arbitrio and de Correptione et Gratiâ in tom. x. of the Benedictine Edition of his works; and see his Epistles to Valentinus, Epist. 214 and 215.

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be not capable of it; and whether any man's predestination be so necessary but that he may perish, neglecting the means whereby salvation must be obtained, and may neglect the means if he will."

Prosper (Aquitanus) and Hilary,[7] both devoted to Augustine, and being alarmed by the teaching of the Semipelagians at Marseilles[8] under Cassian, who not only rejected the heresy of Pelagius, but the doctrine of Augustine also,[9] so far as to maintain that man's will precedes the act of God's special grace, and that the destiny of infants dying in infancy depends on God's foreknowledge of what *they would have become if* they had lived, put various questions to him the year before his death;[1] (I quote Hooker's words, p. 732) viz. "whether they could maintain that—

"(1) Grace doth begin, continue, and finish the work of man's salvation, without taking away man's free-will?

"(2) How they could deliver the doctrine of Predestination, so that neither the Fathers be rejected, nor exhortations to godliness be less regarded, as things unnecessary for them who are ordained to life, and unprofitable for them who are not?

"This gave occasion to the writing of many treatises,[2] whereby some were marvellously well pleased; others waxed fiercer, and bolder to contradict.

"Not long after the rising of these flames, S. Au-

[7] Not (as some have said) the Bishop of Arles. See the Benedictine Editors, tom. x. Præf. sect. 29, p. 171.

[8] The arguments of the monks of Marseilles, by way of exception to the Augustinian theory, may be seen in the Benedictine Edition, ibid. p. 174.

[9] See Neander, iv. 392.

[1] Epist. 224 and 225.

[2] E.g. Augustine's treatise de Prædestinatione sanctorum, and de Dono Perseverantiæ; and his second reply to Julian, which he did not live to finish.

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gustine dieth (Aug. 28, A.D. 430), without any equal in the Church from that day to this."

S. Augustine is rightly called "Doctor Gratiæ;" he was—especially in his conversion—a miracle of divine grace; and he was providentially raised up to rescue the Church from the Pelagian heresy, which would have destroyed Grace, and which proudly attempted to dethrone God, and to deify man. No wonder then, that, in the heat of controversy against so deadly a disease, he should have been tempted to forget the legitimate claims and functions of the human Will as constituted by God Himself;[3] and to resolve everything in man into the plenitude of the attributes of God.

He had boldly ventured into a new province of Theology, and he had penetrated almost alone with adventurous enterprise into intricate questions never explored before; for Jerome and others had been content to impugn Pelagianism without engaging in the problems of Predestination. He was inflamed with an ardent love of God, and with fervent desire to vindicate His attributes, and to exercise all the logical powers of his vigorous intellect by diving into the deepest abysses of His truth. Thus he strained himself to arrive at systematic exactitude, where it was not to be had;[4] and incurred a danger, that of immoderate philosophizing, which is the snare of noble minds. And he was taken

[3] One of the allegations of the Pelagians against Augustine and his adherents was, "These Manichæans (as they call us) assert that by the sin of Adam all free will has been lost, and no one is able to live well, but all are forced by their carnal nature to sin." Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelag. i. 4.

[4] This is well pointed out by Dr. Mozley in his work on the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, pp. 146, 147; cp. 318.

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away by death, before any Synod had pronounced an authoritative judgment on these questions.

Happily for Christendom three persons were raised up after him who prepared the way for synodical decisions.

One was the author of the book "de Vocatione Gentium,"[5] supposed by some[6] to be Leo the Great, when a deacon. "God (he says) wills all men to be saved (i. 12, ii. 1); the Church prays for all that they may be saved. Christ died for all (ii. 16). God's judgments are inscrutable; our knowledge is very imperfect; we do not know, why grace is given to some, not to others; but we must hold firmly to the conviction, that God does everything justly and wisely. Nothing is due to human merit (ii. 14). The consent of the will is due to divine grace (ii. 27). No one is lost who does not deserve to perish" (ii. 33).

Another writer also distinguished by moderation and wisdom was Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspé in Numidia, born about A.D. 468, who was learned in Greek as well as Latin, and is said to have known all Homer by heart. He wrote against Semipelagianism,[7] and in defence of Augustine, so however as to avoid

[5] Specially lauded as that "good writer," that "learned writer," that "wise writer," by Dr. Isaac Barrow, in his four admirable Sermons on the doctrine of Universal Redemption. See there, pp. 367, 368, 392, 448, 465, vol. iii. Barrow's Works, Oxf. 1818; to which if the reader will add the papers of Bp. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond on Predestination and Election, in the fifth volume, pp. 253—335, of Sanderson's Works, edited by Bp. Jacobson, Oxf. 1854; Bp. Pearson's Two Lectures on Predestination, Minor Works, ed. Churton, i. 243—267; and Playfere's excellent work, "Appello Evangelium," especially (pp. 38—42, 334—349, Lond. 1651), he will probably have as much satisfaction as can ever be attained by the human mind, in its present condition, on such questions as these.

[6] As Quesnel. See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 432.

[7] Especially de Duplici Prædestinatione, Cave, p. 494. Migne's Patrolog. vol. lxv.

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the extreme rigour of his system; and he severely condemned those who imagined that God predestined any one to sin, and to death the wages of sin, and who understood predestination otherwise than in the election of those to eternal happiness who were good by the help of God's grace, and in the reprobation of those who were sinners by their own choice.

The third was Cæsarius,[8] born A.D. 469, Bishop of Arles, A.D. 502, who wrote on Grace and Free-will against Faustus, a moderate Semipelagian, a monk of Lerins, who in A.D. 454 became Bishop of Rhegium or Riez in France. The work of Cæsarius afforded material for the deliberations and decisions of a Synod which set at rest the questions which had been discussed with so much vehemence and acrimony for more than a hundred years. This was the Council of Orange, held in the summer of A.D. 529.[9]

This Council maintained the Augustinian doctrine against Pelagius, and showed its reverence for his memory by quoting his words as the basis of its decrees,[1] twenty-five in number.

In those Canons it asserted the universality of original sin; and the sovereign power of divine Grace, not merely helping us when we have prayed for it, but disposing and enabling us to pray; and going before any expression of our will to be cleansed from sin; and cleansing us in baptism without the concurrence of any natural power in ourselves; and the source of all good in us, whether in will, thought, or deed; and the sole efficient motive to our attainment of eternal life; and as always necessary to all, though born again in bap-

[8] Cave, p. 492, and Migne's Patrolog. vol. lxvii.

[9] See Hefele, Concilien, ii. 724. Mansi, Concilia, viii. 720.

[1] See the passages in Hefele, ii. 726—737.

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tism and sanctified thereby; and since all that men have, is the gift of God, His grace is the fountain of all the offerings they make to Him.

It asserted that God loves in us what we are by His grace, not by our own merit; and that the will of man, being corrupted by sin in Adam, cannot be repaired but by the Sacrament of Baptism.

It affirmed that the Justification of man is not from anything natural or legal, but solely from the Death of Christ, Who died to fulfil the Law, and to restore the nature of man, which had been ruined by Adam's fall.

It declared that Man's love to God is a gift of God. God, Who loved us when we did not love Him, gives to us the gift by which we love Him.

To these decrees the Council added certain salutary cautions against the abuse of the foregoing propositions; as follows—

All men, after they have received God's grace in Baptism, are enabled, by God working with them, to fulfil what is necessary for the salvation of their souls.

It is in no wise our belief, that any one is predestined by God to evil; and if any persons hold such a wicked opinion, we pronounce anathema on them with the utmost detestation.

To these decrees of the Council of Orange may be added the declaration of the Synod of Valence:[2]—

"We do most firmly believe, that all the multitude of the faithful, being regenerated by Water and the Holy Spirit, and thereby truly incorporated into the Church, and baptized into the death of Christ, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, are washed by His Blood

[2] A.D. 855, Can. 5, Labbe, Concil. viii. 137. Hefele, Concilien, iv. 194.

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from their sins. In the Sacraments of the Church there is nothing empty, vain, or illusory; but all in them is thoroughly real and true, and is supported on the foundation of its own truth and sincerity."

On the whole, therefore, we see that the truths, for which Augustine had striven so long and so nobly against Pelagianism, were firmly established by the Spirit of God, speaking in decrees which were promulgated by Synods of the Church, and were received by the body of the faithful; and that these truths were guarded from abuse,[3] so that they might not be occasions of reckless presumption on the one hand, or of despondency on the other. Augustine himself, if he had been present at those Synods, would probably have acquiesced in their decisions.

These Councils proceeded on the principle, that men ought to be content with those revelations of Holy Scripture, in which God declares the absolute

[3] They were abused in the Calvinistic system, where it is said that Almighty God created some "for the purpose of being eternally condemned" (Calvin, Institut. iii.; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 12), and that they are doomed from their mother's womb to inevitable destruction. These opinions found their way into the Lambeth Articles (A.D. 1595), which were resisted by Queen Elizabeth, and refuted by Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Overall; and though they were favoured by some at the Hampton Court Conference in 1603, they were rejected by the Bishops; but they were accepted by the Church of Ireland in A.D. 1615, and were retained by it till A.D. 1634, when Archbishop Bramhall and Earl Strafford prevailed on the Convocation of that Church to adopt the Articles of the Church of England. And eventually Archbishop Ussher, who had accepted the Lambeth Articles, declared himself to have come round to Dr. Overall's opinions. Elrington, Life of Ussher, pp. 291—295. Waterland on Arian Subscription, ii. 377—380. Dr. Overall's opinions were—

1. God wills all to be saved, and Christ died for all.

2. In all good things Divine Grace operates first, and, in the next place, Human Free-will, being informed and actuated by Grace. Human Will is a handmaid—but a free one—to Divine Grace, and ought so to work as not to receive the grace of God in vain.

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Sovereignty of His own power, the unerring rectitude of His justice, the all-searching fulness of His knowledge, the all-embracing amplitude of His love, the universal efficacy of Christ's sacrifice for sin, and of the redemption wrought by Him for man; and the energizing power of the Spirit in the Sacraments instituted by Christ for the conveyance of the virtue of His Sacrifice to the souls of men. God also in Holy Scripture proclaims His will and desire that all men may be saved; and declares the freedom of man's will to choose eternal life, and to eschew death. God also delivers therein a salutary warning, that, for the exercise of man's humility, there are inscrutable mysteries in the scheme of redemption, and in the working of God's grace, which cannot be gazed upon by human eyes, or penetrated by the most piercing intellect,[4] even of an Augustine; and that it best becomes us to rest thankful for what we know, and diligently to profit thereby, and meekly to adore Him Who hides these mysteries from us, and to wait patiently for the time, when we, who "now see through a glass darkly, shall see face to face, and know even as we are known" (1 Cor. xiii. 12).

3. Grace operates in an undefinable manner, and does not force any man by natural and irresistible necessity to any particular act.

4. Justifying Grace is not consistent with deadly sin, before actual repentance.

5. After grace received, men may fall away and perish.

6. Believers, although truly regenerate, are not under a certainty of salvation; but they who are solidly rooted in faith and love, may have a sure hope of salvation.

On the Lambeth Articles, and the opinions of Bishops Andrewes and Overall (Regius Professor at Cambridge) upon them, see the work of Dr. John Ellis, Defence of the Thirty-nine Articles, London, 1700.

[4] Cp. Bp. Sanderson, iii. 328.

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CHAPTER XV.

On S. Augustine's Epistles.

AUGUSTINE was concerned in the most important proceedings of the Western Church in his age, and consequently (as has been well observed [1]) his Letters not only comprise the incidents of his private life, but embrace almost the whole history of the Western Church in his time.

What has been already said of Jerome's letters may be applied in a certain sense—partly restricted, and partly enlarged—to those of his great contemporary the Bishop of Hippo. Happily we possess in both instances a series of Epistles, co-extensive almost with their lives.

The Author of the present work can only hope to present some specimens of them to the reader, who will probably be induced to supply the deficiencies of the selection by referring to the entire Correspondence.

The first letter which shall be quoted [2] is that in which, on his Ordination to the Priesthood early in A.D. 371, Augustine asks Valerius, Bishop of

[1] By the Benedictine Editors of Augustine's Works, in their Preface to the Second Volume, containing his Epistles.

[2] Epist. 21. In these extracts I have endeavoured to give the sense, not a literal translation of all the words, which would have greatly exceeded the limits of this History.

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Hippo, to allow him a season for retirement, that he may give himself to the study of God's Word, and to prayer, before entering on the duties of a Priest. "Nothing," he says, "is more popular than the office of a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, who does his work in a perfunctory manner, and with flattery of men; but in the sight of God nothing is more miserable, sad, and worthy of condemnation. Nothing in this world is more difficult, laborious, or dangerous than such a life; but nothing in God's eyes is more blessed, provided we serve in His warfare as our Commander bids us to do. I am wholly unequal to the work; how can I sit at the helm and steer the ship, who have not yet learnt to handle the oar?

"I must therefore endeavour first of all to heal myself, by prayers and tears and study of the Scriptures, that I may be able to heal others. Let me therefore have a respite for such preparation, at least till Easter."

In the following letter he addresses the Bishop of Carthage, and entreats him to put an end to the revels at wakes[3] in Churchyards at the tombs of martyrs. He complains of the love of worldly praise, which actuates many of the Priesthood; and adds that he endeavours to restrain this desire by study of God's Word, and by referring all things to His Glory.

In the next letter he writes in friendly terms to a Donatist Bishop; and in it he dwells on the sin and misery of wilful schism, which rends the seamless robe of Christ, and which showed itself among the Donatists by rebaptizing some who had been baptized in the communion of the Church.

In the year 394 or 395 he began his correspond-

[3] Cp. Epist. 29.

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ence—which has already been described[4]—with S. Jerome on the rebuke of St. Peter by St. Paul.

In a letter written A.D. 396 to Paullinus[5] and Therasia his wife, at Nola, he describes his own Consecration as Coadjutor to Valerius, Bishop of Hippo. This consecration took place just before Christmas, A.D. 396; and was afterwards discovered by him to be irregular, as a contravention of the Canon[6] of the Council of Nicæa, which forbids two Bishops to occupy at once the same see. Paullinus sent a congratulatory letter to Romanianus of Hippo on this event, and enclosed some elegant Latin Elegiacs addressed to a friend Licentius, of which the following is the last couplet:—

> "Vive, precor, sed vive Deo; nam vivere mundo
> Mortis opus; viva est vivere Vita Deo."

The 36th Epistle,[7] addressed to Casulanus, deserves the careful consideration of all who desire to understand the true principles on which ritualistic disputes may be determined. Casulanus asked whether it was right to fast on a Saturday? Augustine lays down this rule, which had indeed been already propounded by Irenæus,[8] Ambrose, and Jerome:[9] "In those things, concerning which no rule is given in Holy Scripture, the customs of the Church of God, or the ordinances of our ancestors, are to be regarded by us as laws regulating our practice."

[4] See above, vol. iii. pp. 219–230.

[5] Afterwards Bishop of Nola in Campania. See above, vol. iii. p. 211.

[6] Canon 8. See Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 8.

[7] See also the Epistle to Januarius, Epist. 54, on a similar subject.

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 418 (on the diversity of time as to the keeping of Easter), the saying of Irenæus (in Euseb. v. 2), "Variety of Ceremonies in different Churches is like a commendatory Epistle of their Unity in the faith."

[9] See above, vol. iii. p. 216.

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The Church of Rome fasted on Saturday; and a certain Roman had tried to persuade the world that this custom must be universally observed, as coming from St. Peter. This Augustine denies. In other Churches, where the Apostles and Apostolic men had taught, no such custom prevailed; and rightly. Let each Church keep to its own usages.[1] He then states the essential difference between articles of Faith and Ritual practices. "Let there be one and the same Faith throughout the Church Universal; albeit this Unity of Faith is observed together with diversities of Ritual, by which that which is one and the same in Faith is by no means impaired or hindered. The King's daughter is all glorious within.[2] This is her essential Unity of doctrine. But she is "brought to the King in raiment of needlework" (Psalm xlv. 15). This is her embroidered variety of Ritual."

Holy Scripture commands all men to fast; but it leaves the time and manner of fasting to be determined by particular Churches at their own discretion. Augustine praises the saying of Ambrose to his mother Monica on this subject: "At Rome I fast on a Saturday, because it is the custom there to do so. But at Milan I do not fast on Saturday, because it is not the custom to do so. I do at Rome what they do at Rome, and I do at Milan what they do at Milan."

In Epistle 38 he mentions his own bad state of health,[3] which disabled him from walking, sitting, or standing. But he is resigned to God, and asks for his friends' prayers.

In Epistle 41 he congratulates Aurelius, Bishop

[1] Cp. above, iii. 78. [2] Ps. xlv. 13, 14.

[3] In Letter 59 he describes himself as "valdè *indispositum*." Does our English word "*indisposed*" come from this Latinism?

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of Carthage, on the excellent sermons preached by Priests in his presence, and also on his condescension [4] in encouraging them to preach before him; and he asks for copies of those Sermons.

From the 43rd letter it appears that the Primacy in Africa was migratory.[5] He complains of the violence of the Donatists, especially the Circumcellions, and of their persistent renewal of the charges against Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, which had been refuted in the days of Constantine.[6]

He says that a Church does not cease to be a Church by reason of evil men or evil ministers in it. Judas was allowed by the Lord Himself to receive the communion with His disciples;[7] and the sacrament was not vitiated, and they were not contaminated, by his reception of it.

In Epistle 47 he considers the case of a man killing a robber to save his own life; and whether a man who is starving may eat meats offered to idols.[8] He thinks that a policeman or other public functionary may do the former act, but doubts whether private persons are authorized to do more than ward off the assailant. As to the latter, meats *known* and declared to have been offered to idols are not to be eaten (1 Cor. viii. 1—10; x. 19, 28).

In Epistle 53 he enumerates the successions of

[4] Till that time it was not usual in Africa for Priests to preach in the presence of Bishops. Bingham, ii. 3. 4.

[5] As now in Scotland and New Zealand.

[6] See above, vol. i. pp. 404—406.

[7] He makes the same assertion elsewhere, e.g. Epist. 92, where he says the good are not to be forsaken on account of the bad, but the bad are to be tolerated on account of the good.

[8] Cp. Augustine de Libero Arbitrio, i. 5, 13; Ambrose de Officiis, iii. 4; Cyprian, Epist. 56, 57, which are quoted by the Benedictine Editor; Bp. Sanderson on Conscience, ii. 18.

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Bishops of Rome from Peter to Anastasius, then Bishop of that See; and says that none of them was a Donatist; and argues against the Donatists from their having set up a Church without any lawful succession of Bishops.

To the 54th letter, addressed to Januarius, the same remarks may be applied, which have been made on that to Casulanus. It is an excellent treatise on ritualistic varieties in different Churches, as contrasted with the essential oneness of all Churches in the true Faith.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose yoke is easy, and whose burden is light (Matt. xi. 30), did not impose on His Church a heavy burden of Ceremonies, like that of the Levitical Law, but He joined together the society of the new people of God by means of Sacraments, very few in number, and very easy to be observed, namely, by Baptism in the name of the Blessed Trinity, and by the Communion of His own Body and Blood; and if there is any other thing which is enjoined in Holy Scripture, save and except the ordinances of the Levitical Law in the five Books of Moses. Whatsoever else we observe is not practised from written enactment, but by tradition; and those things which are received throughout the whole world, we may understand to be so retained, because they were enjoined and enacted by the Apostles themselves, or by General Councils, the authority of which is most salutary in the Church; such as the anniversary solemnities of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection and Ascension, and of the Coming of the Holy Ghost; and if there is any other thing which is observed everywhere by the Universal Church.

"Other things are variously observed in different

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places, such as a Fast on Saturday, which is kept in some places and not in others; and such also as daily Communion in some places, and Communion on Saturday and Sunday in others; and other like things, the observance or non-observance of which is perfectly free, and varies in different places. There is no better rule for the grave and prudent Christian, than to do what he sees to be done in the Church where he lives. Whatsoever cannot be shown to be contrary to the faith or to good morals, is to be regarded as indifferent, and to be observed on account of communion with the persons among whom we dwell."

He then repeats the anecdote, related above,[9] concerning S. Ambrose.

He dilates on the question of daily Communion, and explains the reason why he had given the advice just described concerning it; and says, "Let every man do what he finds to be done in the Church wherein he lives."

There may, he says, be changes made in customs wherever what is observed is contrary to faith or good manners. He illustrates this by the change made as to Evening Communion. Clear it is, that the Communion was instituted after supper.[1] In St. Paul's time the Communion was received after supper.[2] And yet shall any one blame the Universal Church, where the Holy Communion is always received by those who are fasting?[3] and he states the reason for the change.

"But there is one day in the year when it is not

[9] P. 36. [1] Matt. xxvi. 20, 21, 26. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 20, 34.
[3] In some Churches in Egypt it was received in the evening. Fleury, xxvi. 47.

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received fasting, namely, the day on which the Communion was instituted; it is not so received generally, though it is in some places, and this seems preferable; but we do not force any one to eat before that day's celebration, nor do we dare forbid him to do so."

Here we may remark, that when a Church, deeming actual Communion to be necessary, and that the Eucharist is the crowning act of Worship, and that early communion, not being numerously attended, ought not to be the only Eucharistic provision for her people, has so ordered her services that the Communion is commonly administered at noon, it seems that Augustine, who declares it to be "no small scandal to fast on the Lord's day,"[4] and who commands every one to observe the practice of the Church in which he lives, would not have advised any to enforce fasting as a pre-requisite for Communion.

In the following letter to the same person he introduces some interesting remarks on the mystical meaning of *numbers*, especially the numbers three and seven, and the number eight, in Scripture; and the numbers ten and forty. He states the reasons for the observance of the Lord's Day, and of Easter and Pentecost; and for the non-observance of the practice of feet-washing on Maundy Thursday, according to Christ's example on that day. Men, he repeats, ought to conform to the ritual usages of their own Church. He censures the multiplication of unedifying ceremonies, and condemns those who abstain from eating meat as if it were an evil thing, and refers to 1 Tim. iv. 1—5, and Titus i. 16.

[4] Epist. 36, "Si quis die dominico jejunandum putaverit, non parvo scandalo erit Ecclesiæ."

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In Epistle 56 he says that the present life is death when compared with the true life, which is eternal in Christ.

In Epistle 58 he commends a landowner, Pammachius, for rescuing his Numidian tenants from the Donatistic Schism, and for bringing them into the Unity of the Church.

In Epistle 60 he says that "a good Monk rarely makes a good Clergyman," and (in Epistle 79) that "the best and worst men are found in Monasteries."

In Epistle 61 he says the Holy Orders of Clergy who come to the Church from Donatism are to be recognized as valid; and such Clergymen are to be assured that those gifts and graces which they had while they were in schism, but which were not then profitable to them or others because they were not combined with charity without which nothing profits (1 Cor. xiii. 1—3),—and no one can be said to have Charity if he does not preserve Unity—will *begin* to be *profitable*, when they come to the Unity of the Church.

In the 65th letter he states to the Primate of Numidia his reasons for declining to institute a criminous clerk to a benefice.

In the 77th he explains the causes why he had not consented to erase the name of a Priest named Boniface, who had been accused, but not judicially convicted, from the list of the Clergy of his Diocese.

The 78th is a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese. Boniface had accused a monk called Spes (who was a candidate for ordination) of a heinous crime; Spes retorted the charge on his accuser. No sufficient evidence was forthcoming on either side to show which of the two was the delin-

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quent; resort was therefore had to a judgment by ordeal at the tomb of the martyr S. Felix of Nola. Augustine relates, in the letter where he mentions this appeal, that when he was at Milan a thief had been convicted, and forced to confess, by the awe-inspiring influences of a similar spot where Martyrs were buried.

He laments the popular appetite for clerical scandals, and he implores the faithful Laity, who connived at, and condoned, moral delinquencies among themselves, not to form a harsh judgment of the clerical body from the irregularities of some members of it. It seems that evil consequences soon arose from the decretal of Pope Siricius,[5] requiring the Clergy to abstain from the lawful use of marriage. The frequent repetitions of Canons of Councils against Clerical incontinency bear testimony to the same effect.

From the 84th letter it appears that the Latin language was then generally spoken in Africa, and that the old Punic dialect was becoming obsolete.[6]

The Donatists, he says in Epistle 89, appeal from the Ecclesiastical authorities to the Emperor; he censures their effrontery in setting themselves up against the whole Christian world; and justifies the enactment of imperial laws against them, and the infliction of punishment on them on account of their turbulence;[7] and says that they have no right to say that they are persecuted, and to claim the honour of being Martyrs; for it is not "pœna, sed causa, quæ facit Martyrem."

[5] A.D. 385. See above, vol. iii. pp. 98—113.

[6] See Confess. i. 14. Augustine, when a child, lisped in Latin. In Sermon 167 he explains a Punic proverb to his congregation.

[7] His principle was, "*Religio* cogi non debet; sed *mores pessimi* legibus puniendi."

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In Epistle 91 he writes to a heathen Magistrate, Nectarius, and describes the licentious enormities of Paganism in Africa, and the necessity of suppressing heathen festivals as outrages against morality. At the same time he intercedes for individual delinquents, and expresses a desire that the laws may be so put in force as to restrain licentiousness and vice, rather than to inflict corporal penalties on the offenders. It appears from this Epistle that Cicero's treatise "de Republicâ" was then extant; of which some portions[8] have been recovered in our own age from a Palimpsest[9] which exists in the Vatican Library; and in which, singularly enough, Augustine himself, in his exposition on the Psalms, has supplanted Cicero.

In the 92nd Epistle he comforts a sorrowing widow on the death of her husband, and encourages her with the hope of personal recognition of him, and of eternal union with him in Christ in another life. "Do not," he says, "consider yourself as desolate, since you have Christ present with you in your heart by faith, and do not 'sorrow as those who have no hope.' They who have migrated from us to another world are not lost by us,[1] but are gone before us; and we hope that we too shall come to that better life where they are now, and where they will be more known to us, and therefore more dear to us, and where we shall love them for ever without any fear of separation."

He endeavours to describe what the true vision of God will be, and of our friends in God. We shall see

[8] By Cardinal Angelo Mai, 1823, who thinks that Augustine derived the design of his "De Civitate Dei" from Cicero's "De Republicâ." A noble passage of it is quoted by Augustine de Civ. Dei, ii. 21.

[9] Cod. VMDCCLVII.

[1] "Non amisimus, sed præmisimus"—from S. Cyprian. See his beautiful address to Christian mourners, quoted above, vol. i. p. 341.

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God clearly hereafter in proportion as we are like Him in this world (1 John iii. 2); and we shall not see Him in proportion as we are not like Him here.

Augustine exhorts to holiness of life as a necessary qualification for the beatific vision of God, and fruition of His presence in heaven (Heb. xii. 14).

We may here refer to another letter (263), where he consoles a Christian virgin, who had sent him a tunic, which she had woven for her brother, a deacon, just taken away by death, and which he had never worn, but which she asked Augustine to wear for his sake. He did so; and as soon as he had put it on, he wrote that letter to her. "Sursum sit cor," (he says) "et sicci erunt oculi;" and he reminds her of that glorious robe with which her dear brother will be clothed at the Resurrection.

In the 93rd Epistle he again justifies the severe measures of the civil authority against the Donatists, if those measures are executed with the animus of correcting them, and not with vindictive feelings against them. He says that he has changed his mind on this subject. Formerly he was opposed to any such measures, but he now saw the good effects of them. "Not every one who spares the erring is their friend, nor every one who chastens them is their foe. The wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy."[2] "Melius est cum severitate diligere, quam cum lenitate decipere." The surgeon who chains a lunatic, or rouses a lethargic patient, is troublesome to both, but loves both. Who loves us more than God? Yet He not only teaches us by sweetness, but also by salutary fear.

He replies to the plea of the Donatists that they were

[2] Prov. xxvii. 6.

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suffering persecution. No; they themselves are the persecutors, and the Church is persecuted by them. Hagar and Ishmael, when sent away by the Patriarch, might have said that they were persecuted by Abraham and Sarah; but St. Paul answers this allegation when he says that they were the persecutors by "mocking" Sarah and Isaac (Gen. xxi. 9). "He that was born after the flesh (Ishmael) *persecuted*[3] him that was born after the Spirit (Isaac) (Gal. iv. 29). So it is now"

Augustine also justifies the decree of Nebuchadnezzar against blasphemy of the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Dan. iii. 29), and defends the imperial laws against the idolatrous sacrifices and other ceremonies of the heathen, and argues that the Psalmist commands Kings to use their royal authority, *as Kings*, for the support and advancement of Christ's religion (Ps. ii. 10, 11). "Let Kings (he says) serve Christ by enacting Laws for Christ."

He adds that many Donatists have expressed their thankfulness for the exercise of that healthful discipline which has led them to renounce their errors,[4] and to return to the Church; and asserts that it is not so much a question concerning coercion, as concerning the quality of that to which a man is brought by it; and he examines the objection that the secular power, if exercised on the side of the Church, may be invoked by heretics against it. The Church, he says, is tried by persecution, but also triumphs over it, and by it.

He replies to the objection[5] of the Donatists, appealing to the greatest of the Fathers of the African Church, S. Cyprian, who did not acknowledge baptism

[3] See also Epist. 185, p. 970.
[4] Cp. also Epist. 97.
[5] Cp. Epist. 108, where this objection is examined.

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by heretics, and rebaptized those who had been baptized by them. The Donatists therefore alleged that they had Cyprian on their side.[6] "No human authority," he replies, "is to be set against Holy Scripture. Cyprian was not inspired; Scripture is inspired. And Scripture is against rebaptization. No man, however great and holy in the Church, can contravene the law and custom of the Church, which is also against rebaptization. Either Cyprian revoked his error, or he covered it with a veil of love (1 Pet. iv. 8); for he did not enforce it on any, and did not break the unity of the Church; and finally he wiped away his fault by his blood, gloriously shed in martyrdom."[7]

"You say that our Baptism is no Baptism, because it is ministered by evil men. We reply that the baptism we minister is not ours, but Christ's; and that Paul baptized those who had been baptized by John the Baptist (Acts xix. 5), because the baptism which John administered was not Christ's, but John's. But no one ever baptized those again who had been baptized by Judas; and yet it cannot be said that Judas was preferred to John, but the baptism of Christ, even administered by Judas, was preferable to John's baptism, though ministered by John himself.[8]

"You Donatists are with us in many things: you are with us in the Creed, in the Sacraments of the Lord; but you are not with us in the bond of unity and peace. Come to us, and be joined with us, and then those things which you have, will begin to *profit* you,—but not till then.

"We do not invoke any law against you in a vindictive spirit, but in love."

[6] See above, p. 10.

[7] Epist. 108.

[8] Cp. Aug. in Joann. Tract. 5, and Hooker, V. xxviii. 1.

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This Letter is an important one, as bearing on the relations of Church and State, and on Toleration.

It has been sometimes appealed to as an apology for Persecution. Whatever may be said as to some of its arguments, it must be borne in mind that Augustine has condemned all capital punishment when inflicted on the plea of zeal for religion.[9]

He also gave as his deliberate opinion, that "no one is to be forced to religious *belief*, but that immoral *acts* (such as the outrages committed by some of the fanatical Donatists called Circumcellions) are to be restrained by law."[1]

He returns to the subject in the 105th Epistle, which also deserves careful perusal; and at still greater length in the 186th.

The 95th Epistle, addressed to Paullinus and Therasia, who had written to him on the future employments of heaven, on the heavenly bodies of risen saints, and on the Angelic life, is an interesting essay on the heavenly life on earth, as a daily preparation for the eternal life of heaven. He describes how hard it is to live and move in human Society, so that "the soul may not be clogged with a weight of dusty or miry affections dragging it down from heavenward aspirations;" and he describes the difficulty of leading an Evangelical life so as to die an Evangelical death."

The divine oracles of Scripture itself, he says, are rather groped for, than grasped, by us;[2] we busy ourselves with curious disquisitions about them, rather than hold fast their true sense in our hearts.

"We sin by flattering our friends when we ought to

[9] See Epist. 100. [1] Contra Literas Petiliani Don. ii. 14—19, 96.
[2] "Divina eloquia palpantur potius, quam tractantur, a nobis."

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reprove them; and we sin when we try to refute those who reprove us, rather than to profit by their reproof. We sin by our petty jealousies and party strifes. Oh! that some one would give me "the wings of a dove, that I might flee away and be at rest!" (Ps. lv. 6.)

He asserts the reality and identity of the human body after the resurrection, and says that it will be endued with new powers, and be exempt from carnal appetites, and that therefore it is called "a spiritual body" in Scripture[3] (1 Cor. xv. 44). He does not venture to decide whether Angels have bodies or no.

The 98th Epistle, to Boniface, a Bishop, is a treatise on Baptism. He affirms that all Infants are born in sin by reason of their descent from Adam, and that all are regenerate, or new-born, in Baptism by reason of their incorporation thereby into Christ. The virtue of Baptism is irrespective of the faith of their Parents. Every Baptism (by water, and in the name of the Trinity), by whomsoever administered, is the Baptism of Christ. Children are offered to God in Baptism by sponsors or others; as by holy Virgins, who take up outcast children and bring them to baptism. But they are not offered so much by those persons who offer them, as by the whole Society of the faithful, the Church herself,[4] the Spouse of Christ, the Mother of all, who is the universal God-parent, and who acts by those

[3] Cp. Epist. 102, where this subject is enlarged upon.

[4] This is also clearly expressed in his 186th Sermon: "Their holy Mother the Church lends to Infants the feet of others that they may come to Baptism, and the heart of others that they may believe, and the tongue of others that they may confess the faith." See the whole passage.

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who offer children to God in Baptism.[5] He explains also how by the mouth of those who offer it for baptism, an Infant can make a confession of faith, and promise to lead a holy life.

In this Epistle, Augustine declares that Christ suffered once for all; and that in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist there is no continuation or repetition of that one Sacrifice, although in popular language we speak of the "Sacrifice of the Altar;" and the *virtue* of the One Sacrifice is imparted by it. "If Sacraments (he says) did not bear a *resemblance* to those things of which they are Sacraments, they would not *be* Sacraments."[6]

In the 99th Epistle he comforts a noble lady (Italica) in the calamities which Rome was then suffering when besieged by Alaric (A.D. 408). Such afflictions are sent by God to wean us from the world, and to prepare us for Himself.

In Letter 101 to Memorius, a Bishop, the father of Julianus (Augustine's Pelagian adversary),[7] he says, "Hebræam linguam ignoro."

[5] This would be Augustine's answer to those in our own day who have been baptized in dissent, and have not had any sponsors, and then feel a scruple against answering the Bishop's question at Confirmation. The baptism administered by a dissenter is not the baptism of his Dissent. Dissent, as such, cannot administer any sacrament. Sacraments belong to the Church: they are the dowry given by the Bridegroom to the Bride. Baptism administered by schismatics is compared by Augustine to rivers of Paradise flowing outside of Paradise. The person who offers a child for Christ's baptism is virtually its sponsor, and is the instrument of His Spouse the Church.

[6] And in his books against Faustus (xx. 18) he says, "In the holy oblation and participation of the Body of Christ, Christians celebrate the memory of the Sacrifice that has been accomplished by Him (peracti sacrificii memoriam celebrant).

[7] See Mercator in Lib. Subnotat. c. 4.

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In Epistle 102 he answers some questions submitted to him by a Priest called Deogratias—

1. On the Universal Resurrection; which will take place "in the twinkling of an eye" (1 Cor. xv. 52). This will be a great marvel; but the world is full of marvels. Miracles are only things which are not within the compass of our limited experience. All things are possible with God. To Him nothing is miraculous. Our resurrection-bodies will be real and identical, but will be endued with new faculties, and not be subject to their present needs or passions.

2. On the lateness of the appearance of Christianity in the World. All who believed in Christ *to come* (such as Patriarchs and Prophets) will be saved by His Coming. Perhaps in mercy He did not reveal Himself to many, because He knew that they would not have received Him if He had done so.

3. He says that the sacrifices of the Heathen were not culpable as sacrifices, but as offered to those who were not fit objects of worship. The change of divine ordinances under the Law and the Gospel was not due to any change in God, but to the change of times and seasons, to which God—Who is one, and is all-wise and unchangeable—adapts all His dispensations.

This is also stated in Epistle 138, in answer to some who charged God with inconsistency, fickleness, and love of novelty, on account of the change of the ordinances of the Law for the Sacraments of the Gospel. God never changes; but we change, and we need various treatment. There are many things new in time; but there is nothing new with God, Who is the Creator of all times and seasons, and possesses all things from Eternity, and dispenses them to men according to their proper times and seasons.

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4. On Everlasting Punishments. There may be degrees of intensity in what is eternal in time. If a man has desired in this world to have an *eternal fruition of sin*, he may expect, in another world, *eternal suffering* of that which is the revealed consequence of sin. But in everlasting punishment there may be an infinite variety of degrees, according to the diversities of sin.[8]

5. He examines Porphyry's objection to the miracle of Jonah in the whale's belly. "Porphyry laughs at this; but if we feared the laughter of pagans, we should not believe in the resurrection of Christ. And are we not to believe (he asks) that the three children at Babylon walked unhurt in the fire? Let the heathen laugh; they who disbelieve these miracles are dwindling away, while we see the fulfilment of the prophecies which are delivered in our Scriptures, in which these miracles are recorded." He then refers to Jonah as a type of Christ; and appeals to Christ's testimony to the history of Jonah (Matt. xii. 39, 40); and offers some remarks on the spiritual and figurative significance of Jonah's history.

From Epistle 104 it appears that Augustine kept copies of his letters.

In Epistle 105 he repeats the statement that the Church now is in a mixed and imperfect state. It is like the Ark, where were clean and unclean animals;[9] a threshing-floor, in which chaff and good grain lie mingled together; a field, containing wheat and tares growing together till the harvest; a net, in which good fish and bad are enclosed, till the net is drawn to the shore. We communicate with erring and

[8] "Tempus æquale, non æqualis asperitas." [9] Cp. Epist. 108.

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sinful men, and we try to improve them; but we must not communicate with them in their errors or sins.

In Epistle 110, to a Bishop Severus, he shrinks from the praise with which he had honoured him, and prays to be spared it for the future; and also to be relieved from the heavy burden of continual letter-writing, in order that he may have leisure for his theological works.

In the 111th Epistle he consoles a Priest, Victorianus, on the miserable calamities which the Church was suffering in Italy and Spain, from the incursions of the barbarians, and especially on the outrages of holy women by their violence. Almost the whole of the Roman world, he says, is now severely afflicted. We need the chastening hand of God. He has foretold these things. God interfered to save Daniel at Babylon, and to save the Maccabees in the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, and thus showed His divine power and love. And if He does not now deliver us from temporal death, it is not because He cannot, or because He does not love us. He mercifully takes away many to Himself. There can be no violation of the chastity of a pure soul.

The 118th Epistle, to Dioscorus, a student of philosophy, is an Essay on the true end and aims of intellectual studies and pursuits; on the vanity of mere secular knowledge; on the misery of what the world calls happiness, and on the right aims and true purposes of life.

The eye of the mind often suffers from a spiritual ophthalmia, and is inflamed by worldly pride and vainglory, so that the pupil of the eye cannot discern the beauty of Truth. What is the use of a life which is like the course of a voyager sailing down from one

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river into another,—from the Mincius into the Po, and so on and on, and never coming to a shore of peace? Those studies which lead to no good end, or evaporate in human praise and in worldly glory, would have been despised even by wise heathens, such as Themistocles, who was laughed at as ill-educated, because he could not play on the harp. "True, I cannot fiddle (he said), but I can make a small city (Athens) into a great one." He passes in review[1] the various sects of heathen Antiquity, the Stoics, Epicureans, Platonists, and the new Platonists, such as Plotinus, to the last of which he gives the palm because they placed the chief good in the contemplation of God. But all these lacked that which is indispensable to true knowledge, namely, humility—humility as taught by Christ, both by precept and example. All other Philosophies are now passing away, and the Platonists, who approached most nearly to Christianity, would show their wisdom if they would bow their necks meekly beneath the sceptre of the King of Kings.

Christianity is the only true Philosophy.[2]

In all our good deeds let us beware of pride. And as the Orator Demosthenes, who was asked what was necessary to make an eloquent man, replied three times, "Action—Action—Action,"—so, my dear Dioscorus, when you ask what is needed for discovering truth, I answer, "Humility—Humility—Humility."

In the 120th Epistle, to Consentius, he discusses the relative value of Reason and Faith in matters of

[1] P. 511.

[2] In another place, with an untranslatable play of words, quite Augustinian, he says, "Philosophi, sine Deo, non sunt periti, sed perituri."

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religion. Do not suppose that we disparage Reason. We could not have faith if we had not reasonable souls. It is reasonable, that in certain things which reason cannot grasp, faith should precede reason. In order that the mind may be clarified, the heart must be purified.

But we ought, as St. Peter exhorts us, to be able to give a *reason* of our faith and hope (1 Pet. iii. 15).

We do not reject Arianism and other heresies concerning the Trinity, because they are grounded on reason; no, but because they are grounded on *false* reason.[3] If they were founded on sound reason, they would not be heresies. Faith is the eye of the soul. God gives that eye to the soul which prays, and which studies the Scriptures,[4] which teach us to believe. The true organ by which Christ Himself is to be touched is faith. This He taught by His words to Mary Magdalene,[5] "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended." Christ is to be touched *after* His Ascension; and how? by the hand of Faith, which sees what is unseen, and grasps what is impalpable.

The following Epistles refer mainly to the Donatistic and Pelagian Controversies, which have already come under review.

The 130th Epistle is to a rich widow, Proba, on the duty of Prayer, and on the true spirit and manner of Prayer. God always hears the *prayers* of His people, but often denies their *petitions*—in love. The peti-

[3] Compare Hooker's excellent remarks on Reason and Philosophy in relation to Faith, III. viii. 1—16.

[4] Which Scriptures can be shown by *reason* to be the word of God. See Barrow "On the truth and divinity of the Christian religion," vol. ii. p. 189, ed. 1683; Bp. Butler, Analogy, Part ii. c. 3.

[5] John xx. 17. Cp. the exposition of that passage by Augustine in his Commentary on St. John.

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tion of the Lord's Prayer,[6] "Libera nos a malo," is explained by him to mean Evil generally, not "the Evil one" only. Anna in the Gospel is a model of true widowhood.

To a friend, Volusianus, who had lauded him for his knowledge of the Scriptures, he replies (Ep. 137), "Such is the depth of the Scriptures, that I should be advancing daily in the knowledge of them, if I continued from childhood to decrepit old age in an earnest endeavour to understand them, with a stronger intellect than I possess, and with abundance of leisure, and indefatigable labour. What is necessary for salvation is not difficult to attain in them; but when we have acquired that faith without which there can be no holy living, there remain in Scripture so many things which are shadowed over by the foliage of such profound mysteries, and there is such a depth of wisdom which is enveloped both in the words and things which ought to be apprehended in them, that even in the oldest, acutest, and most ardent students of Scripture this is found to be true, that 'Where a man has ended, there he has only begun' (Ecclus. xviii. 7)."

He illustrates this from the Mystery of the Incarnation; and speaking of the one Person and two Natures of Christ,[7] he uses words which seem to have been the groundwork of portions of the Athanasian Creed: "Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His Flesh."

He says that in order to grasp these mysteries we

[6] P. 582.

[7] P. 604. Cp. Epist. 238, and the passages from Augustine quoted by Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, vol. iv. chap. ix. pp. 269—281, ed. Oxf. 1823. More will be said on this subject hereafter, chap. xxii.

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must be humble, and must have faith. "Faith opens the door of the intellect; Unbelief shuts it." He gives the following *reasons* for faith in Christian mysteries: the preparations of the world for many hundreds of years for the revelation of them; the sacrifices of the Patriarchal and Levitical dispensations; the prophecies of the Old Testament. Christ fulfilled the Hebrew prophecies. All Hebrew History preached Christ. The descent of the Holy Ghost; the diffusion of His Church throughout the World, according to His promise,—all these things preach the truth of the Gospel. The destruction of the Temple and of the City of Jerusalem (which was foretold by Christ), and the dispersion of the Jews, who are scattered throughout the World to be witnesses of Christ,[8] preach the truth of the Scriptures in which the Christian mysteries are contained.[9]

The Jews carry everywhere[1] the books of the Old Testament; from these books in the hands of our enemies the Jews (and here is our proof that we have not tampered with those books) we prove the truth of the Gospel; and even by their rejection of it we prove the truth of those books; for their rejection of the Gospel is predicted in them (Isa. liii. 1—2).

He then states the arguments *a posteriori* in favour of Christianity; the inestimable blessings which accrue

[8] This Epistle of Augustine, or portions of it, and some other of his Epistles and writings, might, if translated into English, form a valuable addition to the series of Tracts of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and other similar societies, on Christian Evidences and Christian Doctrine.

[9] Cp. de Civitate Dei, xviii. 46.

[1] On this important characteristic and providential function of the Jewish nation, by means of its dispersion, see also Aug. on Ps. 40 and 56; and c. Faust. xii. 13; de Unit. Eccl. c. 16.

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to nations, families, and individuals from a belief in the doctrines, and from the practice of the virtues, which are taught by it.

In the 130th Epistle, to his excellent friend Count Marcellinus, who had presided as Commissioner of the Emperor Honorius at the Conference with the Donatists, he explains the reason why God, Who is Unchangeable,[2] had superseded the Levitical Law by the Gospel; and discusses the Christian Paradoxes (as they are called) in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 39—41), and how they are to be understood. They are not, he says, to be regarded as utterly condemnatory of War, but as hortatory to a spirit of peace, and as cautionary against revenge. He shows the practical utility of Christianity to Kings, Kingdoms, and Commonwealths; and declares that the ruin of Rome was caused, even by the testimony of her own writers, such as Sallust and Juvenal in two noble passages which he quotes, by the failure of the moral virtues which her Philosophy could not enable her to retain, but which are placed on the surest grounds, and are confirmed with the highest sanctions, by Christianity. The Cross of Christ is the only safeguard of the Crown of Kings.

The 146th Epistle, written about A.D. 413, is remarkable as addressed to Pelagius, and as inscribed to him as "domino dilectissimo et desideratissimo fratri." Such was Pelagius then, in the eyes of Augustine; the winning fascination of his manners, and the attractive sanctity of his life, are well known, and made his heresy a severer trial to the Church.

The 147th Epistle is on the beatific Vision of God,

[2] See above, p. 51.

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which is only to be attained by purity of heart and holiness of life.

In the 147th and 148th Epistles he quotes extracts from Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, and Jerome, as men "most learned in the Scriptures;" and he adds (p. 747), "Although these are celebrated Catholic writers, yet we ought not to regard their writings as we do the Canonical Scriptures, so as never to dissent from them. Such is my view of the writings of others, and such is the view which I desire others to have of mine" (see above, vol. iii. p. 222).

In Epistle 149, to Paullinus, he examines the difficult passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 18—23). This is one of the few places where he refers to the Greek text, and to various readings in it.

Epistle 151 is on the treacherous assassination of Count Marcellinus, and on the greatness of his character as a Christian nobleman, both in soundness of faith and virtuousness of life. Marcellinus seems to have fallen a victim to the vindictive spirit of the Donatists against him.

In this Epistle (151) he complains of old age and bodily infirmities; he was then only sixty, and says that he was obliged to decline some active occupations at Carthage, in order that, if it be God's will, he may be of some use to posterity by his writings.

Epistles 152 and 153 represent an important function of the Episcopal office—a function faithfully discharged by the greatest Bishops of the Church, such as S. Ambrose, S. Martin, S. Augustine, and S. Chrysostom—that of interceding with secular powers for mercy to criminals.

There is a beautiful letter (Epist. 155) on "the

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happy life" (vita beata); which can only be enjoyed by union and communion with God. He also asserts that there can be no true happiness and greatness in Civil Governments, except by revealed religion. "Non enim aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo; cum aliud civitas non sit quam concors hominum multitudo."

He had dwelt on the true happiness of man in his treatise "on the Manners of the Catholic Church," where he shows that all cardinal virtues may be resolved into, and summed up in, Love of God,[3] Who is the Chief Good of the soul; and he repeats the same statement. By loving Him, we attain to God, "non pedibus, sed moribus; faciunt bonos mores boni amores." "Good loves make good lives."

In Epistle 157 are some important remarks on the lawfulness of Divorce for fornication and for infidelity (p. 830), on which he wrote a separate treatise.[4] It contains severe strictures on the one-sidedness of those who could not praise Virginity without disparaging Marriage,[5] and who thus censured God who

[3] De Moribus Eccl. Cath. c. 25, "Temperance is Love, reserving itself wholly to Him who is loved; Fortitude is Love, enduring all things on account of that which is loved; Justice is Love, which serves Him, and therefore rules rightly; Prudence is Love, discerning those things by which it is helped, from those things by which it is hindered, in its course toward Him." And he says, "This is true Love, when God is loved for His own sake;" and, "Blessed is he, O God, who loves his friend in Thee, and who loves his enemy for Thy sake." This is the sum and substance of Augustinian Ethics—Love: Love of God for His own sake, and Love of man in God, and for God.

[4] De Adulterinis Conjugiis; and may I refer to my notes on Matt. xix. 29, 1 Cor. vii. 12, 15, for other authorities on this subject.

[5] On which he wrote the Treatises mentioned below, "de Bono Conjugali," "de Sanctâ Virginitate," and "de Sanctâ Viduitate," in which his large-hearted charity and clear-sighted wisdom, as contrasted with some of his contemporaries, are conspicuous. In Epist. 262 he

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instituted Marriage, and condemned the Scriptures which commend it. By way of illustration, in Epistle 158, written by a Bishop Evodius, and in Epistle 159, the reply of Augustine to it, we have a beautiful portrait of the character of the son of a Priest taken away in the prime of life; and some interesting remarks on the appearances of disembodied spirits after death, and a clear assertion of the existence and activity of the soul in the intermediate state, between death and the resurrection of the body.

Several of the following Epistles (165, 166) deal with the various opinions "on the origin of the soul," which was connected with the Pelagian Controversy. Jerome had modestly referred some of his friends to Augustine for a solution of it. Augustine replies in reverential words to Jerome, "Doce me ut doceam," but does not venture to pronounce confidently upon it. He says that every one is conceived and born in sin, and needs the Sacrament of regeneration; and he thinks that infants dying unbaptized are subject to some punishment.[6] He inclines, therefore, to the opinion of *traducianism*.[7]

In Epistle 169 he speaks of Christ (not Peter) as the Rock of the Church (Matt. xvi. 18). And this was his final opinion on that subject.[8]

There is an excellent letter (Epistle 189) to Count

gives a sharp rebuke to a lady who, on a plea of holiness and charity, had without her husband's knowledge made a vow of continency, and had given away her goods in alms to monks, and dressed herself as a widow.

[6] See pp. 875, 885, 888, 892, 962; Epist. 184, where he says of infants dying unbaptized that "since they did not add actual sin to original sin, potest dici in illâ eorum damnatione minima pœna, non tamen nulla." But compare Hooker, V. lx. 6.

[7] See also Epist. 180 and 202 "on the origin of the soul."

[8] Retract. i. 21.

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Boniface, a Christian soldier, on the lawfulness of War, and on the dignity of the soldier's profession, if he is also a soldier of Christ. "Do not imagine that no one can please God, who serves in the camp. David was a soldier, and yet was 'the man after God's own heart.' Remember the Centurion of the Gospel, of whom Christ said, 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel' (Matt. viii. 8—10). Remember Cornelius the Centurion, the firstfruits of the Gentiles (Acts x. 4—8). John the Baptist did not tell the soldiers to quit the camp, but to live well in it (Luke iii. 14). Every one has his own gift. Some fight for God by prayer, others by arms. But when you buckle on your armour, remember Whose you are. Your strength, and courage, and life are from God. War is a thing of necessity; Peace a thing of desire. You do not seek for Peace, in order to make War; but you seek for Peace by War. 'Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God' (Matt. v. 9). Be chaste, faithful to your wife; be sober, be frugal. Shame it is, to conquer man, and to be conquered by lust. Shame it is, to overcome by the sword, and to be overcome by wine. If you gain wealth by war, lay it up as treasure in heaven. This letter may be a looking-glass to you. Study the Scriptures, and whatever you learn in them to help you to a good life, try to acquire it by practice and by prayer. Thank God for the good you have, and pray for what you have not. Pray, I say, to Him, 'Who is the Father of Lights, from Whom cometh every good and perfect gift (James i. 17)."

This letter was written in the heat of the Pelagian Controversy, and shows that Augustine's

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theory on predestination did not affect his practical teaching.[9]

Two wise letters "on the End of the World" ("de Fine Sæculi," Epist. 197, 199) are addressed to Hesychius, Bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, who had been led by a study of the Prophetical Scriptures to believe that the End of the World was at hand; and may be commended to the consideration of the students of Prophecy.

In one of them [1] there is a clear statement of his opinion, that the day of a man's death is virtually the day of judgment to him. In whatever condition a man is on his death-bed, such will he be at the judgment-seat of Christ.

Such a statement as this to a brother Bishop may be taken as a declaration of Augustine's opinion on the inefficacy of *prayers for the dead* to alter a man's condition in the sight of God; and also as to the doctrine of *Purgatory*. No one (he says) can foretell, *when* the End will come, and he quotes Acts i. 7. God has designedly left us in uncertainty as to the Last day of the World, and as to the last day of our own lives, in order that on every day we may be ready for them. He discusses the question of Daniel's weeks, and the Coming of Antichrist; and gives a warning against hasty interpretations of prophecies, lest, when those interpretations are refuted by time, men should cease to have any belief in prophecy at all. He is sure that the Advent of Christ will be preceded by a severe Persecution of the Church. But as to the precise times and seasons

[9] See above, pp. 19, 20.

[1] Epist. 199, p. 1114, "In quo quemque invenerit suus novissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies, quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur."

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of future events, the best wisdom is to be silent; and the best knowledge is to profess ignorance; and to believe that all the prophecies of Scripture will be fulfilled in God's own time, and to leave to Him the time of their fulfilment, which will be the proof of their truth.

The 204th Epistle is on the sin of Suicide. Heathens praise suicide. Some defenders of suicide appealed to the example of Razis in 2 Macc. xiv. 46; but this is a Jewish example, and is no rule for us Christians.

He again returns[2] to the question of the nature of human bodies after the Resurrection from the dead. They will be real and identical, but will be endued with new powers; and he refers to examples of bodies gifted, even in this life, with new faculties, such as the bodies of the three children walking in the fire (Dan. iii.);[3] and he refers to the preservation of the clothes and shoes of the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years;[4] if the mere integuments of bodies could be preserved by God, surely the bodies themselves may be raised. But the chief proof is in the reality and identity of the risen body of Christ.[5] He affirms that in everlasting happiness and glory there will be differences of degrees of both, as also in everlasting punishment.[6]

From the 209th Epistle it appears that Augustine, feeling himself unequal to the labour of personal Episcopal cure of that district, had provided for himself a "Bishop Suffragan" for Fussala, which was

[2] See above, pp. 49, 51.
[3] Compare St. Peter walking on the water, Matt. xiv. 28, 29.
[4] Deut. viii. 4; xxix. 5. Neh. ix. 21.
[5] Luke xxiv. 39. John xx. 20, 27. [6] See above, p. 52.

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only forty miles from Hippo. The choice of the Bishop was not a happy one. The person whom Augustine had designated for the office declined at the eleventh hour to be consecrated, when the aged Primate of Numidia was present for the Consecration; and Augustine, to spare him the trouble of another journey, presented to him Antony, a monk, having been trained under Augustine's eye, who desired that he might be consecrated. Antony, after his consecration, caused scandal by a vicious life, and Augustine revoked his commission. Antony appealed to the Bishop of Rome, Cælestine.[7] Augustine wrote to Cælestine to implore him not to receive the appeal; and he was so much vexed by disappointment, that he thought of resigning his see, on account of old age and mental distress. Cælestine, however, paid no attention to Antony's petition; and Augustine administered the affairs of Fussala to the end of his life (Epist. 224).

This history is important, as showing what Augustine's opinion would be as to the subdivision of Dioceses and the multiplication of Bishops, when the spiritual needs of a population require it. The Church of Africa had declared its judgment synodically on this point. "If a population increases, and the people desire to have a Bishop of their own, they are to be provided with one, with the consent of the Diocesan."[8]

In Epistle 211 he has to deal with a Sisterhood, in which some disorders had arisen, especially by insubordination to the Mother Superior, and he there delivers rules for their life; for their prayers; for their fasting; for their dress; for community of

[7] Compare the case of Apiarius, above, p. 12.
[8] Conc. Carth. ii. 5. Bruns, Concil. p. 119.

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possessions ; for their manual work. They were bound by a vow of Virginity,[9] but were sheltered by seclusion against temptation to break it. We miss any directions to visit the sick and needy, or to instruct the ignorant. Perhaps these works would have interfered with their life of privacy. They are exhorted to show reverent obedience to their Chaplain, and also to their Mother Superior, who is to refer to the Bishop all matters which exceed her own powers of control. She also is to serve by love. They are to read once a week these rules which Augustine has given them.

The 213th letter contains a full account of the nomination and election of Eraclius, a Priest, who was to be consecrated after Augustine's death, and to succeed him in the see; and in the interim to act as his Commissary in such things as a Priest could perform.

The 220th letter is characteristic of Augustine's boldness in reproving persons in high station within his jurisdiction.[1] It is addressed to Count Boniface,[2] who had broken a vow of celibacy and had married a wife, and, notwithstanding the warnings of Augustine,[3] was guilty of unchastity; and though as a Count of the Empire he had a public charge to repress the inroads and outrages of the barbarians, was living in luxury and licence.[4] "Hear my advice

[9] In Epist. 254 there is a caution against premature pledges of Virginity. On this subject see above, vol. iii. 137—139.

[1] Compare a similar rebuke to a powerful Officer, Romulus, Epist. 247, and Epist. 259 to a wealthy Widower and libertine.

[2] See above, p. 62, Epist. 189.

[3] Epist. 189. Above, p. 62.

[4] This Count Boniface invited the Vandals into Africa in self-defence, being beguiled into rebellion by the treacherous Aëtius, the officer of

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to you. If you are a brave soldier, conquer your lusts; be penitent for your sins. Earthly honours and worldly riches soon pass away. Immortal honour and everlasting riches are given only to the virtuous. Endeavour to gain these. Give alms, pray constantly, give yourself to fasting so far as you can without harm to your health. Use the good things of this life so that great good may come from your use of them."

When the Vandals were threatening to overrun Africa, Honoratus, Bishop of Thiava, consulted Augustine whether it was lawful for him to fly from his Episcopal See for safety. Augustine discusses this question in the 228th Epistle. He quotes our Lord's words,[5] "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another," and examines under what circumstances they are applicable, and refers to the example of Athanasius.[6] It is remarkable that he does not allude to the retirement of S. Cyprian in time of persecution,[7] nor to the case of S. Polycarp.[8] The rule he gives is, that a Bishop's or Priest's personal considerations are to give way to regard for God's glory and the good of the Church, especially of that part of it which is committed to his care. "Think of the good Shepherd Who laid down His life for the sheep; and Who says, 'The hireling fleeth when he seeth the wolf coming, because he careth not for the sheep' (John x. 13). Imitate Christ; care for the sheep, and act accordingly."

Augustine acted on his own advice. Soon after-

Valentinian III. He repented of his disloyalty, and was besieged in Hippo by Genseric, A.D. 430, and was killed in Italy by Aëtius, A.D. 432.

[5] Matt. x. 23. May I refer to my note there on this subject?

[6] See above, vol. ii. p. 126.

[7] Nor to Tertullian, de Fugâ in Persecutione, p. 689, ed. Rigalt.

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 16.

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wards his own Episcopal City, Hippo, was besieged by the Vandals; he remained at his post, and took care of his flock, and died during the siege.[9]

One of the Epistles[1] (the date of which is not known) is a pleasing instance of Augustine's condescension and courtesy. Writing to a young lady named Florentina, probably of noble family, who had asked him for direction in her studies in sacred literature, he addressed her in terms of reverential affection;[2] and while he readily offers his "small services"[3] for her guidance, he speaks in language of deep humility of his own inability to teach, except by the aid of the Holy Spirit given to earnest prayer.

The last Epistle (Epist. 231) of Augustine (as far as we know) was addressed to a nobleman, Count Darius, who had requested him to send him a copy of his Confessions, and to pray for him.

Augustine complies with his request, and sends him the Confessions, and tells him that he will there see what he had been, and what he owed, not to himself, but to God. "I was lost, but He found me, and restored me to Himself. And when you there see what I am, pray for me that I may not faint, but be perfected. Pray for me, O my son, pray. And not only thou, but all thine, who have learnt of thee to love me, pray ye for me. You will find in the Scriptures that the Apostles desired their spiritual children to pray for them. In these evil and troublesome times pray that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty (1 Tim. ii. 2).

[9] See above, iii. p. 290, and Dr. Newman's translation of parts of this Epistle, with remarks on it, in his "Church of the Fathers" (Augustine and the Vandals), pp. 216—224.

[1] Epist. 266.

[2] "Domina eximia, meritoque honorabilis in Christo, ac suscipienda filia;" and "reverentia tua."

[3] "Meam operulam."

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"I have sent you the book you asked for, and I have sent some books that you did not ask for. I receive most thankfully your gift, in which you have conferred a benefit on my health, and have made an offering to my library, that my books may be multiplied or repaired. May God reward you here and hereafter."

Shortly after these words were written, Hippo was besieged (as has been already said) [4] by the Vandals. Augustine died in the siege on Aug. 28, A.D. 430, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

[4] See above, vol. iii. pp. 290, 291.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Other Works of S. Augustine—Ethical, doctrinal, practical, and expository.

ONE of Augustine's earlier works, which contains the sum and substance of his ethical teaching, is that which is entitled *On the Morals of the Catholic Church as contrasted with the Morals of the Manichæans.* He lays down as a fundamental principle[1] that true happiness consists in the enjoyment of the chief good. Virtue is that which ennobles the soul; and that which produces Virtue is the contemplation of God, and obedience to Him, grounded on Love of Him. This love is engendered by the Spirit in the heart, in communion with Christ and His Church by means of the Sacraments, and of the Holy Scriptures. All virtues (Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence) are resolved into the Love of God, and of Man in God, and are contained in it. This Love burns up sin, and cleanses the heart. At the close of this book he apostrophizes the Catholic Church: "O thou Church Catholic, the true Mother of Christians,

[1] Tom. i. p. 1115, ed. Bened. It would be an interesting study to compare this work of S. Augustine with that of Cicero "de Officiis," whose fundamental principle is that man's duty and happiness consists in following Nature. This principle is elevated, spiritualized, and Christianized by Augustine.

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thou preachest to us God, Whose presence and fruition is Life, as the only object of our pure and holy worship. Thou commandest us not to adore any creature, and bindest all together in a perfect bond of love, and providest all medicine for sick souls. Thou trainest every age—childhood, youth, old age—according to their various needs. Thou makest wives to be subject to their husbands, not for the gratification of lust, but for the propagation of an offspring of holy and faithful children, and for the happiness of families. Thou makest husbands to be lords of their wives not for tyranny over the weaker sex, but in the laws of heartfelt love. Thou makest children dutiful to parents, and parents affectionate to children; and joinest brother to brother in a closer bond than that of blood. Thou makest servants faithful to their masters, not in the necessity of subjection, but in the delight of doing their duty. Thou makest masters kind to their servants, and more ready to help than coerce them, in the consideration of the most High God, their common Lord and Master. Thou bindest together citizens with citizens, nations with nations, by a remembrance of their first parents, not merely in society, but in brotherhood. Thou teachest Kings to rule justly, and subjects to obey loyally; in a word, thou teachest all men to love one another, and to hurt no one."

Some of Augustine's remarks in this work on *temperance* and *total abstinence* may be interesting in the present day. "With us, no one who eateth despiseth him that eateth not, nor does he, that eateth not, despise him that eateth.[2] Many among us do not eat flesh, and yet they do not superstitiously think

[2] Rom. xiv. 3.

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flesh to be unclean; therefore if they are sick, and their health so requires it, they eat flesh. Many of us do not drink wine, and yet they do not think that wine defileth;[3] and therefore they order wine to be given to the sick, if it is needed for their recovery." And some who refuse wine foolishly,[4] are admonished by them in a brotherly spirit, that they may not become weaker by a vain superstition, rather than be made more holy by it. St. Paul advised his son in the faith, Timothy, "to use a little wine for his often infirmities."[5]

He says that Christianity is not to be judged by men's professions of it, but by their practice. "I know many who adore tombs and pictures, and who feast luxuriously over the graves of the dead martyrs, and thus bury themselves in the graves of sin; and this they call religion. Do not judge of the Church by them, but by her doctrines and acts."

To the Manichæans he says (c. 44), "What madness is that of yours, to think wine to be the very gall of the powers of evil, and yet to partake of the juice of grapes!" This may be noted as a protest against those who would distract the Church, and import Manichæanism into it, by introducing the *unfermented "juice of the grape"* instead of Wine in the Holy Eucharist. In the same spirit he asks, "What is the use of subduing the body by abstinence, if the mind swells with pride? what good is it, not to drink wine, and yet to be intoxicated with passion?"

His work *On True Religion* contains remarks on the moral and social changes which have been wrought in the world by Christianity, and which no

[3] As the Manichæans did. Cp. de Moribus Manich. c. 27—31.
[4] I.e. as if it were evil.
[5] 1 Tim. v. 23.

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heathen Religion or Philosophy was able to effect.[6] He also shows that the different Heresies, against which men have objected as evidences of the falsehood of Christianity, have in fact been overruled by God to bring out more clearly its great doctrinal truths. He asserts, that, if Plato were alive, he would accept those moral changes, and those spiritual doctrines, as coming from God. He examines the respective claims of Reason and Authority; and declares that it is God's will and method in this life that the exercise of Authority should prepare the way for that of Reason.[7]

At the close of the book he protests against the worship of Angels or Saints, or of any Creature (c. 108). "We honour saints and martyrs by imitating them. We build no temples to Angels; they reject all such honour (Rev. xxii. 9). We ourselves, if we are holy, are temples of God; and we worship Him alone Whose temples we are; and we believe that Angels desire that we may join together with them in the worship of Him, in the contemplation of Whom their happiness consists."

The four books on *Christian Teaching* (de Doctrinâ Christianâ[8]), coming from one who was a distinguished Teacher of secular Literature, and Professor of Rhetoric, before he became a Christian Priest and Doctor of the Church, will have a special interest for Teachers of religion.

In the Preface he shows that God's method is

[6] Cp. Uhlhorn, Kampf des Christenthums, Stuttgart, 1879; and see above, vol. i. p. 323, chap. xxiii.

[7] So the Baconian principle, "Oportet discentem credere; oportet edoctum judicare." Authority is a Consul, not a Dictator, and still less a Tribune of the People. See above, pp. 54, 55.

[8] Vol. iii. pp. 13—151.

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to teach men by means of other men. Cornelius at Cæsarea, though visited by an Angel from heaven, was not taught by the Angel, but was commanded by him to send men to Joppa to fetch a man—St. Peter—that he might be taught by him (Acts x. 5). Paul, though called by Christ Himself from heaven, was not admitted by Christ into the Church, but by a man, Ananias, who was sent by Christ to baptize him (Acts ix. 11). This method of teaching is adopted by God in order to unite men—the teachers and the taught—in brotherly love to each other, and to rescue men from the proud imagination that they can teach themselves and save themselves without the ministry of other men, whom God has appointed to help them in the way of salvation by the ministry of the Word and Sacraments.

The End of all true Teaching is the knowledge and love of the Ever-Blessed Trinity.

For this purpose the heart and mind must be cleansed by Christ, the Physician of the soul. In Adam we used immortality ill, that we might die; Christ, the Second Adam, used mortality well, that we might live. He has given the Word and Sacraments to His Church, which is appointed to minister them as spiritual medicines to the soul. In order to profit by these means, we must firmly believe the Holy Scriptures to be the inspired Word of God, and must learn from them to live a life of faith, hope, and charity.

He examines the structure of Scripture; how it teaches men by types and prophecies; and how the allegorical method of interpretation is to be used with due regard to historical truth; and how we are to learn *what is* Scripture, namely from Christ's testimony in the Church to the Canon of Scrip-

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ture;[9] and how we are to learn its sense. He is thus led to speak of the Translations of Scripture, the Septuagint, and the Latin Versions;[1] and he examines what is the symbolical meaning of the *numbers* which recur in Scripture.[2]

He asserts the great use of secular Learning (especially of the Platonic Philosophy) for the exposition of Scripture. As the Israelites were commanded by God to spoil the Egyptians, and as, when they had done so, they consecrated the spoils of Egypt to God, in the adornment of His Tabernacle with those spoils, so we must use the gold and jewels of heathen Literature for the building up, and for the beautifying, of the Church of Christ.

"How much gold and silver of heathen Egypt did that most persuasive Teacher and holy Martyr, Cyprian, use and dedicate to the glory of God! How much did others consecrate in the same manner—such as Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, and Hilary; to say nothing of those who now live.[3] And how much did innumerable Greek writers. But let us remember that in this Exodus from the Egypt of heathen Literature, we must keep the Passover, which is Christ. We must keep it with the bitter herbs of repentance, and with faith, hope, and love."

He next speaks of the Rule of Faith, according to which Holy Scripture is to be expounded. The obscure places of Scripture are to be made clear by the plain ones; the Letter of Scripture is to be spiritualized; and all is to be done with continual reference to the judgment of the Catholic Church in her teaching and practice.

[9] See above, pp. 3, 4.
[2] See also iii. 51.
[1] See above, vol. iii. 251.
[3] Such as S. Jerome.

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In iii. 14 there is a strong passage against Transubstantiation ;[4] the carnal sense is slavery. There may be many senses of the same text of Scripture (iii. 38). Regard is to be paid to times and seasons; the polygamy of the Patriarchs is no rule for us.[5]

He refers to the rules of Tichonius the Donatist, which were of great use against Donatism itself, especially his rule "on the mixed and imperfect condition of the Church in the present world."

In the fourth book he gives precepts on the language and style of the Christian Preacher. He defines what true Eloquence is, and how it is to be obtained. It is a gift of God. He considers what the true purpose of Christian Preaching is, and cites specimens of different styles from Scripture and Christian Authors, such as Cyprian and Ambrose. He gives warning against being fascinated by an "insipiens eloquentia," which is a detestable thing; the more attractive it is, the worse it is. If the sermon is good, and the preacher is known to his people, and delivers it well, it does not much matter whether he preaches extempore, or reads it (c. 26). He lays down these rules. Let not the preacher be a slave of his words, but let his words serve him (c. 61). Let us not be in love with words, but let us love the truth which is contained in words. What is the use of a golden key, if it cannot unlock a door? What is the harm of a wooden key, if it admits into the house? Above all, let the Preacher do two things. Let him take good care of his own life. A bad preacher who lives well is a far better teacher than one who preaches well and lives ill. How can men

[4] See also Sermons 112 and 131.

[5] iii. 27. See also c. Faustum, lib. xxii.

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hearken to a preacher who does not hearken to himself? Next let him pray, before he preaches.[6] Let him pray for himself, and for those to whom he preaches.

He tells a story of himself, going to preach in a Church in Mauritania against a vicious custom which prevailed there. "At first the people applauded me; therefore I felt that I had made no real impression. I changed my tone and style, and they began to weep; then I was sure that they were penitent, and that the vicious custom would be abolished; and I thanked God—for so it was. Eight years have now passed, and that custom has not been revived."

This treatise is followed in the Benedictine edition of Augustine by his work *On the Agreement of the Evangelists* (de Consensu Evangelistarum), and by exegetical works on the Old and New Testament; of which the *Exposition of the Psalms*, and of *St. John's Gospel*, are the most remarkable. The latter especially is full of profound spiritual interpretation.[7]

The *Sermons*[8] of Augustine (contained in the fifth Volume) are an illustration of his own precepts on Christian Teaching. Hippo, where most of them were preached, was probably not a populous or wealthy place. These sermons therefore differ greatly in style from the exuberant orations of Christian Preachers in

[6] "Ante sit orator, quam dictor."

[7] May I refer as specimens to his expositions of John iv. 1, 2, and John iii. and vi., and of John xx. 17, to which I have been greatly indebted in my notes on those passages?

[8] Arranged in four classes:—

1. *On the Scriptures.*
2. *On festivals and holy days.*
3. *On the Saints.*
4. *On divers topics.*

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great cities, such as Basil at Cæsarea, and Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom at Constantinople. They are characterized by pointed terseness, transparent clearness, and graceful simplicity of style ; and at the same time by soundness and depth of doctrine, and also by forcible applications of it to practice. If translated into vigorous idiomatic English, they might be preached with good effect in our provincial towns, and to country congregations.[9]

Augustine preached sitting ; the congregation stood (Serm. 17). Let me make a few extracts. In Serm. 22 he shows that the fulfilment of those Scripture prophecies, which have been accomplished, is a proof that the other prophecies which have not been accomplished (such as those on Christ's Second Advent, Resurrection, Universal Judgment, Everlasting Rewards and Punishments) will be fulfilled also.

There is no room, he says,[10] for change in a man's state after death.

It appears from Serm. 23 that it was preached extempore ; he refers to a conversation going on in the church while he was preaching.

Sermons 46 and 47 on Ezekiel xxxiv. are excellent Pastorals to Preachers and People on their duties, and on the responsibility of Bishops and Clergy towards Nonconformists, such as the Donatists in Africa were, and whom those sermons specially concerned.

The language of the Donatists was, "Why does Augustine trouble us? Why does he not let us

[9] The following are in "the Library of the Fathers" (Oxford):—
Sermons on the New Testament. Two vols.
Homilies on the Psalms. Six vols.
On the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John. Two vols.

[10] See above, p. 63.

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alone? We are satisfied and happy as we are. We do not belong to him. He had better look to his own Church, and leave us to take care of ours. He is acting foolishly, and is chargeable with usurpation, and bigotry, by endeavouring to domineer over us."

But Augustine was not moved by such language. He thought that the Donatists ought to be led to consider whether they were in a safe condition; and for their sake, and the sake of the Church, he longed to heal the separation between them and her, and to restore them to her communion, although he encountered obloquy from them. So he pursued the work of "*troubling*" (as it was called), because it was a work of love. He compared it to the work of a surgeon, who, while he gives pain, restores health. He would not trouble them if he did not love them. Augustine—when preaching these Sermons on the grand homily of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. xxxiv.) to the Shepherds of Israel (which is a Manual for Christian Bishops and Pastors), and referring to the case of the Donatists—thus speaks: "Many sheep stray from the fold of Christ, and are impatient with us who endeavour to bring them back to it. 'What (they ask) do you want with us? Why do you seek us?' My answer is, 'Because you are going astray, and are in danger of perishing.' 'But (they reply) I love to stray, I am content to perish,—as you call it.' 'Do you indeed desire it? How much better (I answer) do I desire that you should *not* perish, but be saved! Doubtless I am importunate; but the Apostle commands me 'to preach the word, and to be instant in season and *out of season*' (2 Tim. iv. 2); and Almighty God condemns all careless pastors who do not seek the erring; He says, by the voice of the

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prophet Ezekiel, 'The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill, yea My flock was scattered upon the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against the Shepherds, and I will require My flock at their hands' (Ezek. xxxiv. 4—10). Yet, further (says Augustine), I have a commission from Christ, the Chief Shepherd; We must all stand before His judgment-seat (2 Cor. v. 10). You cannot overturn the tribunal of Christ, and set up that of Donatus in its place. Therefore I must seek and search for Christ's sheep, when they are astray; and though in the search my path is among thorns, briars, and brambles, which pierce and wound me, yet I will gladly do it." And why? because he loved Christ, Who said, "Feed My sheep" (John xxi. 16, 17), and he did it for His sake, in order to bring back to His fold the sheep for which He shed His blood; and for which He prayed that they might all be One as He and the Father are One (John xvii. 21, 22); so that there might be one Flock and one Shepherd (John x. 16).

"Besides," he adds, "if I do not endeavour to reclaim schismatics, but connive at schism, the members of the Church will imagine that Schism is a harmless thing, and that it matters little whether they belong to the Church or no. They will suppose that it is indifferent whether they resort to this place of worship or the other. They will say, that if religious divisions

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are sinful, and are condemned as such by Almighty God in Holy Scripture, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church would endeavour to heal them. But if the Bishops and Clergy do not endeavour to do so, the members of the Church will infer that their words on the sin of schism are idle talk, and that only quarrelsome people ever speak about it; and thus the children of the Church will be lost, because Bishops and Pastors do not care whether schismatics are saved."

Augustine thus speaks (on Ps. xxi. and in other places): "You Donatists say to me, 'You have your sheep, and we have ours. Do not be troublesome to me and to my sheep, and I will not be troublesome to you and yours.' No, my dear friends (he answers), these sheep are not yours nor mine; but they belong to CHRIST. Let His sheep follow Him. Wherever the Good Shepherd is, there let the flock be. If Christ is with you, let my sheep, as you call them, go with you. But no; you have separated yourselves from the Church; and Christ loves unity, and blames division; therefore let divisions be healed, and let unity prevail. Come back to the communion of the Church. Nothing, says St. Paul, profits without charity (1 Cor. xiii. 1—3), and no one can be said to have charity who breaks the unity of the Church."

Let us pass on to other topics in these Sermons.

It appears from them that even adult Candidates (Competentes) were called *Infants* at baptism.

It seems that in the African Church the delivery of the Creed (traditio Symboli) to the Competentes or Candidates for Baptism took place about fifteen days before Easter; and that their rehearsal of it (redditio) was in the week after the delivery; and that then they received the Lord's Prayer (see Sermons 58 and 59).

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Sermons 56, 57, 58, 59, are addressed to the "*Competentes*," or Candidates for Baptism, and are expositions, first of the Creed, secondly of the Lord's Prayer; the reason of which order is explained. The Creed and Lord's Prayer were not to be written, but to be learnt by heart, and to be repeated orally.[1]

In these Sermons Augustine, referring to Matt. xvi. 18, frequently declares that Christ, and not Peter, is the Rock of the Church. In Sermon 147 he says, "Veracem Petrum Petra fecerat, Petra enim erat Christus." In Serm. 149, "Not Peter only, but all the Apostles received the Keys;" and so in Serm. 160, "Petra erat Christus." In Serm. 295, "Christ said, 'I will build My Church upon Myself.' A Petrâ Petrus, sicut a Christo Christianus;" and he says elsewhere, "Super Me ædificabo te."

There is a short pithy Sermon on family worship (Serm. 94). "Many bishops," he says, "are present here in the congregation, and I know not why they will not help me with a Sermon, but ask me to preach to you; but I am tired, and cannot. Let me, however, say a few words to the laity, on Christ's words concerning the slothful servant who hid his Lord's money (Matt. xxv. 24—30). You laymen cannot preach from this pulpit. But you can preach elsewhere. Do not be slothful servants. Do not hide your Lord's money. Put it out to interest. Use your talent well. Wherever Christ is accused, defend Him; refute those who murmur against Him; correct those who blaspheme. Use Christ's money so as to gain some to Him by it. Exercise an Episcopal office in your own families. Be a Bishop in your own house. A *Bishop* is so called because he *superintends* or *over-*

[1] See Sermons 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 228.

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sees others. Every one who is a Head of a household ought to oversee it. He ought to look well to the faith of its inmates, that none of them fall into heresy; he ought to see that his wife, his children and servants, who have been bought by Christ's blood, are sound in the faith. Do not despise the least among them. Then you will have used your Lord's money well; you will not be like the unprofitable servant, and will not be condemned with him."

There are two interesting Sermons (103, 104) on the Mary-life and the Martha-life, if we may so speak (Luke x. 38—42). "Both lives are good in their way; but the 'much-serving' of Martha in a family, ought always to be so ordered, that it may tend to the 'one thing needful,' namely, to the eternal quietness of Mary at the feet of Christ in His Kingdom. Martha's work is ours now; Mary's life is ours in hope. Let us do the former well, that we may enjoy the latter fully. Work passes; Love abides. O Martha, thou art now at sea; thy sister Mary is safe in port."

In Sermon 159 he says that when the names of Martyrs are recited at the Altar in the Holy Communion, prayers are not offered for them as for others, and that it would be an injustice to pray for them. He repeats this in Sermon 285. As for others, in Sermon 172 he affirms that prayers and oblations can only be of use to those who have lived holy lives, and cannot profit those who have died without faith, and without the reception of the Sacraments;[2] that prayers for such persons are vain. Nor can new merits be acquired for good men by prayers after their death, for no one can have after death, what he had not during life; but the meaning of such prayers is

[2] See also his Enchiridion, c. 29.

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that the faithful departed may receive the consequent rewards of their faith on earth.

Sermons 212 to 216 are addresses to those adults[3] who were candidates for baptism (Competentes). In them he explains the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and in 224—227 the doctrine of the Sacraments; and describes the liturgical order of the Church in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. He states clearly the doctrine of the *real presence*, but it is certain from his language here and in other places that he did *not* hold and teach the doctrine of *transubstantiation*.[4]

They who were baptized were present at the Communion on the *evening*[5] of Thursday before Easter, and some seem to have received it then; others were present, but did not receive it till Easter Day. These sermons are characterized by terseness and simplicity of style; but Augustine was capable of higher flights of eloquence. For example, in speaking on the Anniversary (Natalis) of the Martyrdom of S. Laurence (Serm. 203), "What," he exclaims, "can be more glorious for a man, than to sell all that he has, and to offer to Christ the most acceptable oblation of a holy life, and the pure praise of fervent devotion; and to be with Christ hereafter, when He will come to judge the quick and dead; and to be made a co-heir with Him, and a companion of Angels,

[3] The "*Competentes*" were called "*Infantes*" on the day of their baptism. Serm. 224—227. See above, p. 81.

[4] Serm. 227 and 272, "Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritualem." Cp. above, p. 50.

[5] "Nocte præteritâ participes facti estis;" and see Serm. 272, "Transactâ *nocte vidistis*;" though there is a difficulty as to this Sermon, for it is entitled "In Die *Pentecostes*," which would seem to imply that the Holy Communion was administered on Whitsun Eve.

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and to rejoice with Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles in the fruition of the heavenly inheritance? What persecution can crush such hopes as these? What torture can conquer them? The mind, when settled and stablished by religious meditation, is not shaken by terrors of the Devil or by menaces of the World. In persecution, the bodily eye is closed, and heaven lies open to the view. Antichrist threatens, but Christ defends. Death is inflicted, but Immortality ensues. He who dies, is slain by the sword; the world is taken away from him, but Paradise is given him. Temporal life is quenched; eternal life is restored. What joy, what delight is his, to close his eyes to the world, and to open them to God!"

Augustine observed the Anniversary of his own Consecration (which was called the *birthday* of the Bishop);[6] and the feelings of responsibility with which he regarded his office are described in the 339th and 340th Sermons. "Pray for us," he says, "ut vobis non tantum *præesse*, sed *prodesse*, delectet."

The 333rd Sermon is one of the many which show that Augustine as a Preacher did not press on the people his speculations on election and reprobation, but regarded all his hearers as objects of God's love; and he exhorts them all so to profit by His grace, that they may inherit the glory which He has promised them in Christ.

In the 351st and 352nd Sermons there are some important remarks on the three kinds of Penitence—1, before Baptism; 2, daily repentance; 3, public repentance for flagrant sins and scandals; and on repelling offenders from Holy Communion.

In these two Sermons on penitential discipline he

[6] Natalis Episcopi.

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exhorts heinous sinners to public[7] penitential confession of sins, with a view to absolution by the Keys given to the Church by Christ. He deprecates all false shame in this matter. "What can be more miserable," he asks, "what more perverse, than for a man to be not ashamed of a wound which is patent to all, and yet be ashamed of its bandage?[8] Let no one be tempted to despise the medicine of this healthful penitential discipline, because he sees many unworthy persons admitted to Holy Communion. Many are corrected, as Peter was; many are tolerated, as Judas was; and many will not be known till the Lord comes, because no one accuses them; and we cannot repel any except they confess their sins, or are convicted by a temporal or ecclesiastical Court. But no sinner ought to despair, rather he ought to embrace gladly the means of spiritual health offered in the Church of Christ. Judas might have been saved with Peter, if he had repented with Peter. Men often resort to Kings for pardon. But the Keys of the Church are more sure in their operation than the hearts of Kings. The latter may open a door on earth; the former open the Kingdom of heaven."

The 354th Sermon is addressed to those who had made a profession of Celibacy. "The married life is honourable, and has its place in the Kingdom of God. Single persons have chosen a higher life, but one peculiarly exposed to spiritual pride. Married persons, who are humble, are living a higher life than single persons who are proud. Agnes the virgin,

[7] He does not mention private Confession to a Priest. The state of Penitential discipline seems to have been the same then in the African Church as at Constantinople; on which more will be said ch. xix.

[8] "Non de vulnere, sed de ligaturâ ejus, erubescere."

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and Cæcilia the wife, are both commemorated as martyrs. Let the single person not think of the gift she has, but of what she has not. The devil will not be condemned hereafter for adultery[9] or fornication, but for pride. The single person who is proud has no place in the Kingdom of God."

In Sermon 355 he mentions the children of a Priest.

The 356th Sermon is addressed to the people of Hippo, and presents an interesting picture of the Clerical body there. They seem to have lived in a Clergy-house (Cœnobium [1]), together with the Bishop, without any separate property. He mentions their names; some are priests; others deacons; others are subdeacons; he asks the people to contribute to their maintenance and work. "Offer what you will and of pure good-will; offer to the common fund, for the use of all."

Augustine's Sermons are followed [2] by a series of Essays on subjects of Ethics and Doctrines, which, for the most part, have already come under review. A short notice of them may suffice here.

"*On belief of those things which we do not see.*" Our faith in unseen things is confirmed by the visible fulfilment of the prophecies contained in those Scriptures which reveal to us what is invisible. The Old

[9] Were these words of Augustine in Izaak Walton's mind when (in his Life of Hooker, p. 202, ed. 1807) he describes the temper of some religious parties in England before the Great Rebellion?—"I mean not those sins which are more visible and carnal, as gluttony and drunkenness (from which the Lord deliver us), but sins of a higher nature, because more like the *devil* (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil)—those wickednesses of malice, and revenge, and pride, and self-conceit, and restlessness, and rebellion."

[1] See above, iii. p. 290, on his "Clergy-house." [2] In Volume vi.

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Testament, in the hands of the Jews, is a witness to the truth of what is contained in the New Testament. The reception of Christianity by the consent of a great part of Mankind is also a witness to its Truth. In the treatise on *Faith and Works* (c. 5) he protests against the extravagant fanaticism of some who—because abstinence from marriage and from flesh and wine are commendable in certain cases—condemn marriage, which is God's institution, and proscribe the use of flesh and wine, which are God's creatures.

He protests also (c. 6), on the one side, against that latitudinarianism which would subordinate all spiritual things to the Secular Power;[3] and, on the other, against the rigour of the Donatistic sect (c. 7), which imagined a perfect Church in this world, and which supposed itself alone to constitute it.

As to justifying Faith, he says that Works follow the Faith which justifies, but do not precede Justification, which is by Faith.[4]

His *Enchiridion* (or *Manual*) *on Faith, Hope, and Charity* is one of his later works (written A.D. 421).

Its main purpose appears to be to give a summary of his views on Original Sin, Grace, Free-will, and Predestination, which have been dealt with already.[5] It refutes the Manichæan error as to the origin of evil from an Eternal Evil principle (c. 11), and exposes the error of the Academics, who, in order to avoid error, professed Agnosticism (c. 19).

The work *On Catechizing the Ignorant* (de Catechizandis rudibus) is addressed to a young Deacon of

[3] The principle of Herodianism in ancient times, and of Erastianism in modern.

[4] "Bona opera sequuntur justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum."

[5] Above, pp. 16—28.

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Carthage, and may be useful to those who catechize, or teach in Schools, especially in great towns; and also to those who conduct "Missions" in populous cities.

It is not, however, confined to the teaching of the illiterate, but directions are given in it how to deal with the educated.

It supplies practical hints on the duty of not wearying the hearer, but providing him with intellectual refreshment; and on instruction in the Life of Christ, the History of the Church, and in ancient Prophecy and Christian Doctrine, in a lively and familiar way; and on the duty also of inspiring the hearer with a solemn sense of moral responsibility, by setting before him the realities of Death, Resurrection, Judgment, and Eternity.

It gives a striking description of the licentious character and vicious habits of the population of a great town like Carthage (c. 25 and c. 48), where Augustine had spent some years of his early life. This picture will show, what moral and social difficulties Augustine and others like him had to contend with in the moral and religious training of their people.

This Treatise supplies some hints also for the counteraction of those difficulties by the energy of the Gospel; and it fills the reader with admiration for Cyprian, the Bishop in such a city as Carthage, who contended valiantly as a Confessor for Christ, and suffered joyfully for Him there as a Martyr.

The next Treatises, on *Continency*, on the *Blessings of Marriage*, on *Holy Virginity*, on the *Blessings of Widowhood*, refer to subjects already discussed in the history of the work of S. Jerome in the Church (above, ch. vii. pp. 127—134). S. Augustine says in his

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Retractations,[6] that the heresy of Jovinian (see above, iii. 135) had injured the Church, but the answers to it were not unexceptionable, as they gave occasion to some to say that Celibacy could not be commended without condemnation of Marriage; which was one of the heretical tenets of the Manichæans.

Augustine therefore wrote these Treatises to mediate between the two parties; he eulogizes holy Virginity, when voluntarily chosen for love of Christ, and in a spirit of humility—the best ornament of it, and without which it is an empty name, and displeasing to God. He also vindicates Holy Matrimony, instituted by God in Paradise, and blessed by Him, and beautified by Christ's presence and first miracle at Cana, and a figure of His mystical union with His Bride the Church; provided that Matrimony is sought for, and lived in, with such a temper, and for such purposes and uses (which he specifies, c. 10—12, cp. 32) as are appointed by God and sanctioned by Christ.[7]

He says that Virginity and Marriage are both good; that Virginity, as *a state of life*,[8] is the higher of the two; but that the *person*, who is obedient and humble, is the better person of the two (c. 28); and that Obedience and Humility are better than Virginity

[6] Retract. ii. 22. This Work of *Retractations*, written about three years before his death, is not to be regarded so much in the English sense of the term *retractation*, as in the sense of *revision* of certain passages in his works.

[7] In another work (de Genesi ad Literam, ix. 7) he declares that the good of Marriage is threefold, "fides, proles, sacramentum;" that its rule is, fruitfulness, and avoidance of fornication. "Hæc est regula nuptiarum, quâ vel naturæ decoratur fecunditas vel, regitur pravitas."

[8] Augustine also observes (cp. above, iii. 136) that our Lord and St. Paul also represent Virginity as a *gift* bestowed by God on some, and not on others (Matt. xix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 7, 17).

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(c. 29). He says that many who have made profession of Virginity, and have been consecrated to God,[9] are talkative, inquisitive, intemperate, covetous, and proud; all which are sins of disobedience to God's commands. "Wherefore (he adds) not only the obedient person is to be preferred to the disobedient, but a more obedient wife is to be preferred to a less obedient Virgin;" and he exhorts all professed Virgins to cultivate humility and obedience.

In the treatise on *Holy Virginity* he says that the Lord gave no precept for Celibacy[1] (c. 14). "Vows of Virginity are nowhere imposed in Scripture. If a person has the gift of continency from God, she may make such a vow to Him; but let her take heed; she may be like those widows of whom St. Paul says (1 Tim. v. 11—13), that they desire to marry (c. 34), but who fear to do so on account of the shame they would incur in the sight of men by breaking their vow, but who would do better to marry than to burn.

"I do not speak to such Virgins as these, nor to the covetous, nor to the intemperate, nor to those who are vain of their dress.[2] To such as these I should speak of chastity, not of humility; but to all other professed Virgins this is the warning that I give, 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble' (James iv. 6). Humble married persons follow the Lamb, if not whithersoever He goeth, yet at least as far as is in their power, with greater ease than vainglorious Virgins (c. 52). Therefore, O ye Vir-

[9] "Sacras Virgines."

[1] "Præceptum Domini de Virginibus nullum est," and c. 30.

[2] Their immodesty is thus described by him:—"Prætumidis umbonibus capillorum; vel tegminibus teneris ut retiola subtusposita appareant," c. 34. Cp. Jerome's words above, vol. iii. p. 244.

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gins of the Lord, walk ye in the path of glory with the feet of humility. Do not allow your minds to dwell on your own gifts or merits. Deem others, who in public esteem are inferior to you, to be better than yourselves in secret. Be Virgins in the sight of God, and of His holy Angels, by modesty, meekness, and purity of heart. Let Him who for your sakes was nailed to the Cross, be firmly fixed in your hearts."

The frequency of Augustine's exhortations to humility, and warnings against vainglory, in these treatises, appear to show that panegyrics of Celibacy as a higher spiritual life, and the consequent contemptuous disdain of Marriage, had done much mischief to those who had made profession of Virginity, and had brought much discredit upon it.

In the treatise on the *Blessings of Widowhood* he does not condemn second Marriages. Ruth married twice. But for the most part, the state of Anna in the Gospel is preferable. A Widow who gives herself to Christ is as pleasing to Him as if she were devoted to Him "integritate virginali."

The two books on *Marriage after Adultery* (de Conjugiis adulterinis) do not seem to have satisfied Augustine himself. The question, he says, is "a most difficult and intricate one;"[3] and he doubts whether he has given a right solution of it. A wife, who has been divorced for adultery, does not (he thinks) cease to be the wife of him who has put her away (c. 13). He allows a man to put away an unbelieving wife (c. 14, 19), though it is not expedient to do so (c. 16, 23), and it is not lawful for him to marry another

[3] Retract. ii. 57, "Ad perfectionem hujus rei non me pervenisse sentio." In the work itself (i. 32) it is called "quæstio obscurissima et implicatissima."

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(c. 31) ; and he advises reconciliation in both cases[4] (ii. 5, 10, 12).

His admirable treatise against *Lying* (de Mendacio), addressed to Consentius, was written A.D. 420, and was intended by him to supersede his earlier work on *Lying*, written in A.D. 395. He refutes the notion of the Priscillianists, who said that they might lie to escape detection and punishment, and to expose the frauds of some Catholics, who professed themselves Priscillianists in order to entrap them.

He lays down this golden rule of moral practice[5] (c. 18) : "Though it be of great importance, *what* the cause, end, or intention of an act is, yet no act, which is clearly sinful, is ever to be done on the plea of any cause, or for any end, or with any intention, however good."

He discusses the various cases quoted from Scripture ; e.g. the cases in the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ; Lot and his daughters at Sodom ; the cases of the Hebrew midwives, and of David, in the Old Testament ; and in the New, the supposed compromise and collusion between St. Peter and St. Paul at Antioch ;[6] and other like instances, where acts of duplicity and other sins are said to have been committed by holy men with a *good intention*, and to have been approved by God.

Some sayings and acts also of Christ, which have been alleged in favour of simulation or dissimulation, are examined by him.

[4] Cp. above, p. 60. Might I be allowed to refer to other authorities on this subject, quoted in my notes on Matt. v. 32 ; xix. 7—9 ; 1 Cor. vii. 10—12 ; and in my two Sermons on *Divorce?*

[5] A rule much commended by Bishop Sanderson in the second of his Lectures on Conscience (sect. 5), *The Plea of Good Intention*, which is an excellent sequel to the treatise of Augustine. [6] See above, vol. iii. 221.

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This Treatise is a protest against those "pious frauds" which have brought discredit and damage on the cause of the Gospel, and have created prejudice against it, from the days of Augustine to our own times.

His Essay on the *Work of Monks* (de Opere Monachorum) was addressed to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 400, and is a severe censure on those Monks who declined manual labour on pretence of devoting themselves to works of piety. Augustine says that the Apostles "had power to forbear working" (1 Cor. ix. 6), because they laboured in preaching the Gospel; but even St. Paul, the greatest preacher of all, laboured with his own hands. How much more ought they to do so, who cannot offer any such plea for exemption. He draws a grotesque picture (in the style of S. Jerome) of long-haired itinerant monks, strolling vagrants, mendicants, and relic-mongers, "offering for sale limbs of martyrs (if indeed they were martyrs); and hucksters of fringes and phylacteries; who pretended that their relatives lived in some far-off land; and begged alms of the faithful to help them on their journey to them; and importuned them for assistance to bear the charges of a lucrative poverty, or to pay them the fees of a simulated sanctity. Thus, by their hypocrisy, the monastic name and profession are brought into contempt."

Augustine entreats the Bishop of Carthage to reform these abuses.

The work on *Consulting Demons* (de Divinatione Dæmonum), written A.D. 406 and 411, will have an interest for some who deal with the phenomena of Spiritualism in modern times. Augustine does not deny that there may be some supernatural agency—

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such as divination by oracles, sorcery, and witchcraft, and as dealing with familiar spirits. There is, he thinks, much imposture in such things; but God may allow some future events to be predicted, and some secrets to be revealed, by Evil Spirits (e.g. the Egyptian god Serapis foretold his own destruction, c. 11),[7] even for the sake of punishing those who resort to them, instead of worshipping the Only True God. But such things ought never to be practised by any Christian man.

On reverential Care for the Dead (de Curâ pro Mortuis gerendâ). This treatise was addressed to Paullinus, Bishop of Nola (A.D. 421), who was celebrated for his veneration of the Martyr S. Felix, whose tomb at that place was visited by pilgrims, and was renowned for miracles which were believed to be worked there.[8]

Paullinus had inquired of Augustine, whether it was profitable for a man to be buried in a sacred place—such as the cemetery where S. Felix was interred—and whether prayers were availing for persons after their death.

Augustine deals with the latter question first. He quotes St. Paul (2 Cor. v. 10), declaring that all must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive a recompense for the deeds done here in the body, whether good or bad. He thence concludes that we must do good works *before death*, if they are to profit

[7] That persons who deal with familiar spirits and practise demonology may by supernatural agency sometimes work wonders and learn secrets, by God's permission, is clear from the signs wrought by the magicians of Egypt, by the witch at Endor, and by the damsel with "a spirit of divination" at Philippi; and from what our Lord and St. Paul pre-announce concerning the "signs and wonders" of the latter days (Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22; 2 Thess. ii. 9).

[8] See above, p. 43.

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us after death; and not to look for any help from what is done after death, when we are to receive the fruit of our works done in this life. And yet if men have *lived well* in this life, something, he thinks, may be done by the survivors to improve their condition after it. But he says that they who have lived ill cannot be profited by any such aids; and that others have lived so well as not to need them.[9] But since we cannot discern those who are good, it may be well to pray for all who have been regenerated.[1] He refers to 2 Macc. xii. 43 in support of these suppositions;[2] and appeals to the custom of the Church, observing "a commendation of the dead."

As to any benefit derivable from the place where a man is buried, he says a Christian is not hurt by not being buried at all. The Martyrs at Vienne and Lyons, whose bodies were burnt and their ashes cast into the Rhone,[3] were not injured thereby. And yet Christian burial is a laudable practice. He certainly would not have approved of cremation.

[9] He thought it an insult to pray for Martyrs, see above p. 83. Chrysostom took a different view, Hom. 21 in Act. Apost., where he says that the Eucharistic oblation is for all, even for Martyrs. Cp. Neander, iii. 454. The statement of Epiphanius (Hær. p. 911) is a singular one: "We make a commemoration of the righteous and of *sinners*, for whom we pray that they may obtain mercy from God. We pray for the righteous, for our fathers, patriarchs, and Apostles, Evangelists and *Martyrs*, and Confessors and Bishops, and Hermits and Clergy, *in order that* we may distinguish our Lord Jesus from them, by paying Him a peculiar honour." On the whole, it appears that there was no consensus of teaching among the Fathers of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries on the subject of prayers for the dead. The *earlier* Fathers say nothing or little about it.

[1] Cap. 22. Cp. de Civ. Dei, xxi. 24.

[2] On which see above, iii. 148. Augustine imagined erroneously that this book was a part of Canonical Scripture; and this supposition affected his arguments, and those of others, on the practice.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 176.

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"The reverential observance of funeral obsequies is rather a consolation of the living than a help to the dead. The beggar Lazarus was borne by Angels into Abraham's bosom, and was more glorious than Dives, who had a marble mausoleum, while he himself was in torment. The man 'who has no funeral urn is canopied by the sky.'[4] And yet no one ought to disregard the bodies of the dead, especially of the faithful, which have been used by the Holy Spirit as His own vessels and instruments during their lives. If we revere the ring of a dear parent, how much more his body? Tobias is praised by an Angel for his care in burying the dead (Tob. ii. 9; xii. 12). Our Lord praises a holy woman in the Gospel (Mary of Bethany) for her pious thought for His own burial (Matt. xxvi. 7—13).

"Funeral rites are also witnesses of belief in the Resurrection of the Body. The Patriarchs were inspired by the Holy Ghost to express this faith by the care they took for the burial of their own bodies, and the bodies of others."

He thinks that it may be of use to be buried near a Martyr, in order that by such burial the dead may be commended to the Martyr's prayers.[5] At the same time he does not suppose that the dead know what is done on earth, while it is being done (c. 18);

[4] "Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam;" words of Lucan (Pharsal. vii. 819) concerning those Romans who fell at Pharsalia, and whose bodies Cæsar forbade to be buried or burnt.

[5] At the same time Augustine strongly repudiates the notion that the Church paid any worship to the Martyrs, or to any one but God. See c. Faustum, xx. 21, "Nec colimus nec colendum docemus nisi unum Deum. Nulli martyrum, sed Ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituimus altaria." The whole chapter is instructive. Cp. de Civitate Dei, xxii. 10.

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but is of opinion that they may perhaps learn something from the souls of the departed which go from earth to the place where they are.

In reading such an Essay as this, we may perhaps be tempted to regret, that, inasmuch as Augustine was regarded as an Oracle by the Western Church, questions were often put to him which were hardly capable of solution, but which he was requested to solve.

Augustine wished to show sympathy with Paullinus, who dwelt at Nola, in order to be near the tomb of S. Felix, and annually wrote verses in his honour. But Augustine was hardly satisfied with his own attempts to answer his questions. And it might perhaps have been best, to recognize the limits which God Himself has placed to our knowledge of the unseen World, and to be content with what He Himself has been pleased to reveal concerning it in His Written Word, and to say with Augustine himself, "What God wills us not to know, let us be content not to know;" and, "It is better to doubt about what is hidden, than to contend about what is uncertain."[6]

The remark already made on Augustine's theories on Predestination may be applied to his speculations on such subjects as these. They do not seem to have entered into his practical teaching. In his Sermons he does not encourage his hearers to rely on the prayers of survivors for help after death, nor to think that they can change the judgment of God on the works done in the body, for which men must render an account to Him at the Great Day;

[6] "Quodcunque Dominus nos nescire voluerit, libenter nesciamus," and, "Melius dubitare de occultis, quàm litigare de incertis."

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or that there is any other preparation for a happy death, and a blessed Resurrection, and a glorious Immortality, than that of a holy life.

The last of Augustine's writings, to which reference will be here made, is his great work,—in twenty-two books,—*On the City of God.* It was begun in A.D. 413, and not completed until A.D. 426, four years before his death. It is addressed to a nobleman, his friend Count Marcellinus,[7] the Commissioner of the Emperor Honorius in the Conference with the Donatists, and was occasioned by the capture of Rome by the Goths, A.D. 410, and by the allegations of the Pagans (to which Marcellinus requested an answer) that the fall of Rome, and the other calamities of the Roman Empire, were due to the anger of the heathen gods for the neglect of their worship, and for the acceptance of Christianity in its place.[8] The Imperial laws, they said, have suppressed Paganism; and therefore the Gods, who have been insulted by those laws, have given up Rome to be captured, and the Empire to be ravaged by Goths and other barbarians.

This book is therefore entitled *Contra Paganos.*

It may be regarded as Augustine's final utterance to the world. It is historical, and prophetical. It reaches backward to the Creation; and forward to the last Persecution, and to Christ's Second Advent, and the General Resurrection, and Universal Judgment, and Eternity.

Its opening words, *the most glorious City of God* (Gloriosissimam Civitatem Dei), are a key-note to the whole. The Church (he says), which is the City of God, was founded by Him at the beginning; and has continued

[7] See Prolog., and cp. Epist. 136, 137. [8] Retract. ii. 43.

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since that time, under different dispensations, the Patriarchal, the Levitical, the Prophetical, the Christian; and it will continue to exist till it will be consummated and glorified for ever in the infinite peace, felicity, and splendour of the heavenly Jerusalem, in the presence and palace of its King, our Lord Jesus Christ. Then indeed it will be recognized by all as "*the most glorious City of God.*"

Side by side with the City of God stands its rival and enemy the "City of the World." The History of the Church is a history of the struggles of the City of God against the City of the World; it is a record of the persecutions it has to suffer from the malice of that City, and of its King, the Prince of the Powers of Darkness; sometimes by open violence, such as in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in the first three centuries after Christ, and such as will rage against it in the days of Antichrist, the days just before Christ's Second Coming, the time of which is uncertain; sometimes by subtlety and craft, especially by Heresies impugning the true Faith.

But by the power of Christ, overruling these oppositions for good, and eliciting good from them, violent Persecutions have produced the glory of Martyrdoms, which have won many converts to the Church. Some of the noblest martyrdoms (Augustine thinks) will be produced by the last great Persecution, which will usher in Christ's Advent in glory.[9]

Heretics also have stimulated the orthodox Teachers of the Truth,[1] to examine their opinions, and to test them by Holy Scripture, and to refute them; and thus the Faith has been confirmed with ad-

[9] Cp. de Civ. Dei, xviii. 52, 53, and xx. 8.
[1] De Civ. Dei, xvi. 2; xviii. 5.

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ditional strength by means of heresies, and has been manifested in brighter clearness to the World.

The malice and craft of the Devil have thus been made ministerial to the divine glory, and to the victories of Christ and the Church.

The City of God upon earth is like a pilgrim and sojourner in a strange land; but she will be triumphant hereafter for ever in her heavenly home.

This work of Augustine has a special interest and value, as showing how, in his opinion, Church History ought to be written. The History of the Church is, in his view, the history of the greatest Kingdom upon earth; it is the history of the Kingdom which will survive all worldly Kingdoms, and exist for Eternity. The history of the Church is the manifestation of the working of two antagonistic Powers, Christ and the Evil One; it is a narrative of the fulfilment of Christ's prophecies that the Enemy will be ever endeavouring to destroy "the beloved City,"[2] but that the Gates of Hell—that is, all successive assaults of hostile forces issuing forth from the citadel of Satan —will not prevail against His Church,[3] built on Himself, the Christ—that is, the Prophet, Priest, and King—and also Very God and Very Man, Blessed for ever; but will be made subservient for good, and eventually issue in the complete subjugation of the Enemy, and in the consummation of the victory of Christ, and glory of His Church.

Augustine shows in this book that such calamities as had overtaken the city of Rome and the Roman Empire, were indeed chastisements inflicted by God on those whose hearts and homes were in the City of this world; but that no disruptions of earthly Empires,

[2] Rev. xx. 9. [3] Matt. xvi. 18.

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and no dissolutions of worldly dynasties are punishments to the Christian;[4] that they are glorious triumphs to the good; and that generally they are followed, even on earth, by some new powers of expansion given to the Church for the reception of other Nations into her fold, such as the barbarous races which invaded the Roman Empire; and that they are blessings to her, as lifting up her eyes and her affections from the perishable things of earth to her own imperishable Kingdom in heaven.

In this respect this last work of Augustine is a Manual of comfort and instruction to the Christian in times of national confusion like the present, and in the breaking up of national institutions.

One of its distinguishing characteristics, as compared with other works of Augustine, is the wonderful richness of erudition displayed in it.[5]

The first Ten books of this work are against Heathenism; the last Twelve are a defence of Christianity. In the former he displays the immoralities of the Heathen religion, and proves from its own writers (such as Sallust and Cicero) that God had rewarded Rome as long as it was virtuous,[6] and that its decay was due to its vices;[7] and that if Christianity had been allowed to exercise its legitimate influence on it, these would have been corrected;[8] and that the mightiest heathen Empires were only "magna latrocinia."[9] Still the Empires of this world

[4] i. 10.

[5] In the Benedictine Edition it is illustrated by two learned Commentaries: one by Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard, a favourite of Catharine of Arragon, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who dedicated it to Henry VIII.; the other by Leonardus Coquæus, an Augustinian Monk of Orleans in the seventeenth century.

[6] v. 15, 16. [7] ii. 18, 21; cp. Epist. 138. [8] ii. 28. [9] iv. 4.

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were God's instruments, and He overruled their acts for His own glory.[1]

He notes it as a marvellous interference of God's good providence that Rome was not captured by the enormous host of the savage heathen king Rhadagaisus in A.D. 405, who was slain at Fæsulæ, but by the Christian conqueror Alaric.[2] He says that men make great mistakes in their notions of the greatness of Empires. The true greatness of a Sovereign, and the true prosperity of a Realm, consist in serving God,[3] and in advancing His Kingdom; he illustrates this by the history of the Roman Emperors Constantine and Theodosius.[4]

In the last three books of this work he deals with the doctrine of a *Millennium*,[5] to which I have already referred.[6] His opinion is that the *thousand years* in the Apocalypse[7] are a round number, signifying the whole time from Christ's first Advent to the Coming of Antichrist. He comments on the time of the last persecution under Antichrist;[8] and the prophecy of St. Paul on the "Man of Sin"[9] (2 Thess. ii. 3); and the Conversion of the Jews,[1] and the Coming of Elias,[2] and the future Resurrection and Judgment, and on Everlasting Punishment,[3] and makes some strictures on Origen's opinions upon that subject.[4]

[1] v. 21, 22. [2] v. 23. [3] v. 24.

[4] v. 25, 26. These chapters will well repay perusal.

[5] xx. 6—10. [6] Vol. i. p. 305.

[7] Rev. xx. 3. For the reasons of this opinion, and the authorities for it, may I be allowed to refer to my notes on Rev. xx. ?

[8] xx. 8 and 13. [9] xx. 19. [1] xx. 29.

[2] I have remarked elsewhere (note on Mal. iv. 5) that the ancient Fathers were influenced, in their belief in a personal reappearance of Elias, by the translation of the Hebrew in the Septuagint and in some Latin Versions. Augustine quotes "Eliam *Thesbiten*." [3] xx. 11, 12.

[4] xx. 17, 23; and see the notes in the Benedictine Edition, p. 1019.

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He thinks that Infants will be perfected in heaven ;[5] and describes the future Resurrection, and the glory and beauty of the bodies of the Saints, and the perfect felicity of their souls, after it ;[6] and the degrees of glory[7] in everlasting happiness in the eternal Sabbath of the Vision of God,[8] without any temptation or possibility of sin. "That will be our Sabbath, which will have no Evening, but will be merged in the Octave of an Everlasting Lord's Day ; consecrated by the Resurrection of Christ, and bringing with it eternal rest of body and soul. There we shall repose and contemplate ; there we shall contemplate and love ; there we shall love God, and praise Him. This will be our endless End. And what End can we more desire, than to come to that Kingdom which will have no end ?"

[5] xxii. 14. See on Isa. lxv. 20.

[6] xxii. 5, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24. The 22nd and 23rd Chapters of the Twenty-second Book contain a marvellous description of the various miseries of this life, consequent on sin, from which there is no deliverance but by the grace of Christ. In the 24th Chapter of that Book is a singular record of the practice of Vivisection.* [7] xxii. 30. [8] xxii. 29, 30.

* Cp. Celsus de Medicinâ, Præf. p. 11.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Christian Missions to the West—S. Germain of Auxerre —Mission of Palladius and S. Patrick to Ireland.

AMONG the benefits arising from the invasion of the barbarian tribes of the north, and from the capture of Rome by the Goths, was the impulse it gave to Christian Missions.

Before that time, scarcely any example can be adduced of any effort made by the Church of Rome to extend Christianity by missionary enterprise. Roman Society was absorbed in the voluptuous selfishness of a corrupt civilization; and when it was stunned by the peals of thunder, and dazzled by the glare of lightnings, flashing from the storm of barbarians sweeping down upon it from the north, and was awakened by that terrible hurricane from its lethargy of self-indulgence, its energies spent themselves at first rather in sending forth votaries of monastic asceticism, than bands of Christian Evangelists.

The calamities which befell Rome had at length the effect of chastening it by moral discipline, and of exciting its sympathy for those foreign races with which it was brought into contact.

In A.D. 429, the year before the death of Augustine, Pope Cælestine sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, into Britain to recover the inhabitants from the heresy of their countryman

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Pelagius[1] to the Catholic faith. Probably this mission was undertaken on the invitation of orthodox Bishops of Britain, who needed their help. Germanus and Lupus were successful in their efforts, and they went to St. Albans in order to visit the tomb of Britain's proto-martyr,[2] and to return thanks to God for His blessing on their work.

In the year after S. Augustine's death, Pope Cælestine consecrated Palladius, probably a deacon of Gaul, who had been instrumental in the mission of Germanus, and sent him as a Missionary Bishop to Ireland,[3] which seems also to have been infected by the Pelagian heresy.[4] But his mission was of short duration. For reasons which are not recorded, he quitted Ireland, and soon afterwards died.[5]

S. Patrick was the Apostle of Ireland.[6] He is said by some to have come to that country as a Missionary Bishop the year after Palladius left it. The

[1] Prosper Aquitan. Chron. apud Roncall. i. 655.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 384—386. Britain had preachers of Christianity from Apostolic times. Euseb. Dem. Evang. iii. 5. Vit. Const. iii. 18, 19. Cp. Chrys. vi. p. 635; viii. p. 111, ed. Savile. There were three British Bishops at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314. Concil. Labbe, i. 1430.

[3] "Ad *Scotos* in Christo credentes," Prosper Aquitan. Chron. l.c. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 13. Some Historians (e.g. Fleury, xxv. 18) suppose this to have been a mission to the *Scotch*. But the words *Scotia* and *Scoti* designated *Ireland* and the *Irish* till the twelfth century. See below, p. 109. On Palladius, see Dr. Todd's S. Patrick, pp. 270—276.

[4] Bede, i. 13, 17, with the notes of Smith and Hussey.

[5] Nennius, Hist. Brit. apud Gale, Script. xv. p. 94. Bp. Lloyd, Ancient Christ. pp. 55—57.

[6] Gallandius, Proleg. de S. Patricio: "Patricium à Deo ad Hibernorum conversionem vocatum circa annum 431; post innumeros labores in eo munere apostolico perficiendo e vivis excessisse anno 491. Hiberni Patricio debent quod patria sua facta sit *Sanctorum insula*, et litterarum scientiarumque gymnasium." On the year of his mission, see Todd, p. 394, who places it in A.D. 439 or 440.

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Mission of S. Patrick is one of the most interesting in Church History, and, happily, we possess trustworthy documents for ascertaining its character.

The principal of these records is the work composed by himself, in his old age, and addressed to the people of Ireland, and entitled his *Confession.*[7] This title is not intended to convey the meaning generally expressed by that word; the Confession of S. Patrick is not to be compared with the Confessions of S. Augustine, and other similar works; but it is to be regarded as a *Profession* of *Faith* set forth by him, and as a Memoir of his own ministry and life. It is written in Latin, in a simple and homely, rude and rugged style, as the Author modestly avows. But this does not detract from its value. Its language reminds the reader that the Author was not tutored in schools of human learning; and it is an artless record of the sufferings he endured, and of the labours he performed in the cause of the Gospel, and the spirit of zeal and courage with which he toiled in

[7] Contained in Patricii Opuscula (sc. Confessio, Epist. ad Coroticum, Synodi duæ, &c.), ed. Jac. Waræus, Lond. 1658; Dublin, ed. J. L. Villanueva, 1835; Gallandii Bibl. Patr. Vet. vol. x. pp. 159—182; Migne, Patrologia, tom. liii. p. 802.

In Yeowell's Chronicles, Appendix iv. p. 173, is a translation of S. Patrick's Confession, and in Sir W. Betham's Antiq. Researches, Part ii. Dr. Todd's work, "S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," Dublin, 1864, is of primary importance.

Gallandii Prolegomen. de S. Patricio. Bibl. Vet. Patr. tom. x., "Sancti Patricii res gestas Probus, Jocelinus, aliique medii ævi scriptores litteris consignarunt, quorum auctoritas *haud firmo talo consistit.*

"At ex beati Antistitis *Confessione* et *Epistolâ ad Coroticum* complura eruet lector ad ejus acta probe dignoscenda, quibus alibi firmiora frustrà quæret."

Tillemont, Hist. Eccl. vol. xvi. p. 782, "*Ne voyant rien de certain dans* les vies de Saint Patrice, nous aimons mieux nous contenter d'un écrit qu'on appelle sa *Confession*, qu'on croit estre de lui-même, et qui véritablement en est digne."

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the work of Christ, in an almost barbarous country, for sixty years.

S. Patrick was not an Irishman.[8] His baptismal name[9] *Succath*, seems to be of Teutonic or Celtic origin. He mentions the place of his birth by its Latin appellation.[1] Archbishop Ussher[2] supposes that it was Kirkpatrick in Scotland, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde. It is indeed generally allowed that S. Patrick was born either in Scotland or in France.[3] It seems more probable that he was a native of Scotland. In S. Patrick's age, the Slave Trade was carried on in these countries. He relates, that when he was only sixteen years old, he was captured by Pirates, and sold into a foreign land. The country to which he was carried was the north of Ireland. He also mentions, that[4] many thousands of his countrymen

[8] Cardinal Baronius ad An. 431 and 491, makes S. Patrick a native of Ireland, deceived probably by the expression in the Martyrology, "In Hiberniâ *Natalis* S. Patricii." See Martyrol. Christ Church, Dublin, p. 96, xvi. Kal. April.: "*Natalis* Sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi *Scotorum* qui primus eosdem *Scotos* de gentilitate ad Christi fidem convertit . . . Sicut in Apostolatum barbaricæ gentis Scotorum verbo predicationis per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum ex baptismatis fonte velut ex matris utero regeneravit, merito ejusdem gentis *pater* nominatur . . . Apostolus et predicator in convertendâ gente ad fidem constitutus Episcopus, baptizando, unguendo, chrismatizando, et Episcopos, Presbyteros Diaconosque ceterosque gradus Ecclesiæ ordinando, perfectus."

[9] Schœnemann, Bibl. Hist. Patr. tom. ii. p. 846, "Patricius natione Britannus, nomine patrio *Succath*, natus in oppido *Nemthur*, hodie Kirkpatrick, inter fretum Dumbrittonæ et urbem Glasguensem sito circa annum 371, patre Calpurnio diacono, Potiti presbyteri filio."

[1] "Bonaven Taberniæ."

[2] See also Ware's Bishops, p. 5.

[3] In c. 19 of his "Confessio," he appears to *distinguish* between France and his native land: "Pergens in *Britannias* et libentissimè paratus eram quasi ad patriam et parentes, *non id solum* sed eram *usque Gallias*, visitare fratres."

[4] In the Confessio, c. i., he says that he was captured and brought to

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were seized and taken with him. If we consider how small the vessels of that age were, we cannot suppose that, if these many thousand slaves had been captured in France, the Pirates should have chosen to carry their cumbrous freight by so long and circuitous a voyage as to the north of Ireland; but to no place were they more likely to have carried them than to the north of Ireland, if they had captured them in Scotland. Scotland, which afterwards received so much of Christian illumination from Ireland, and even derived its name *Scotland* from that island (for Ireland was the primitive *Scotia*,[5] and was commonly called by that name till the twelfth century), seems to have given S. Patrick—the Apostle of Ireland—to that country.

Patrick was the son of Christian Parents. His father was a Deacon, his grandfather a Priest.[6]

Scotland had received the tidings of the Gospel by means of Ninian, who is said to have been the son of a British Chief, and to have been trained at Rome, and to have visited S. Martin at Tours, and to have fixed his see at Galloway, and to have built a Church there called (as some say) Candida Casa, and to have called it by the name of S. Martin, and to have died A.D. 432.[7]

Patrick was a slave of a heathen master, in a wild

Ireland "cum *tot millibus hominum*, quia a Deo recessimus et sacerdotibus nostris non obedientes fuimus."

[5] Bromton. Io. p. 1071, "Erat Hibernia jam olim Britanniæ concorporata . . . p. 1072 dicta est etiam *Scotia* a Scotis eam habitantibus priusquam ad aliam Scotiam Britannicam devenerant." Dr. Todd (S. Patrick, p. 41) says, "till the twelfth century." Ussher, Antiq. cxvi., "*Scotiæ* appellationem *Hibernia* retinuit ad seculum usque decimum."

[6] See below, pp. 114, 115.

[7] See Bede, iii. 4, and Life of Ninian by Aelred, circ. A.D. 1150.

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country, among savage tribes, and was sent to feed sheep. He draws an affecting picture of his own condition at that time. "Often (he says[8]) in wintry nights, I wandered as a shepherd on the mountains of Ireland. I was drenched by rains, and chilled by dews and frost." But in his solitary hours he had communings with God, and in the school of friendlessness and affliction, and under the influence of the sky and stars, the truths of Revelation, which had been planted by his parents in his mind, but had lain dormant there, awoke within him. "Often[8] I slept on the hills and in the forests, and rose before dawn to pray." Thus his life was spent till his twenty-third year. He then escaped from captivity, and returned to his native land. But he would not remain there. With a noble spirit of Christian forgiveness and self-sacrifice, he returned good for evil, and forsook the joys of home, in order to preach the Gospel, where he had been an exile and a slave.

After some years of religious preparation,[9] he re-

[8] Confess. c. 6.

[9] See the testimony of Fiech the Bard (concerning whom may be consulted O'Connor, Proleg. ad Scr. Hibern. i. p. cxv, who places him circ. A.D. 540). Ware calls Fiech Bishop of Sletty (in Queen's County), near Carlow, and contemporary with S. Patrick. See Ware's Bishops, p. 3, and Bishop Nicholson's Library, p. 50.

Fiech says of Patrick—

"Profectus est trans Alpes omnes
Et mansit apud Germanum," &c.

which has been thus Englished—

"He traversed the whole of Albion,
He crossed the Sea,
And he took up his abode with Germanus,
Far away to the South of Armorica
Among the isles of the Tuscan Sea;
There he abode, as I declare,

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ceived the Orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop; and before A.D. 440 he returned to Ireland, where he spent the rest of his life—some say, sixty years. During that time, he traversed he greater part of the country, preaching the Gospel, baptizing, planting Churches, and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Almighty God blessed his labours with an abundant harvest; he never quitted the field, and, full of labour and of years, and like a reaper with his sheaves around him, he fell asleep in Christ.

It is a striking fact that our celebrated Saxon Church Historian, Bede, who was born in the seventh century (A.D. 672), and records in his History the mission of Palladius to Ireland, and often refers to the affairs of the Irish Church, never mentions in it the name of S. Patrick.

If S. Patrick had been sent from Rome, Bede (as is asserted by many Romanist writers), who had access to the Roman archives, and who records the mission of Palladius, and was one of the most learned men of his age, must have known the fact, and would have communicated it to the world. Full of zeal for Rome, as she then was, he would not have failed to do honour to the glorious career of S. Patrick; he

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He studied the Canons with Germanus,
Thus it is that the Churches testify;
To the land of Erin he returned."

The original of this Hymn, in Irish, is inserted in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, and Dr. Todd, p. 314, who, however, thinks that these statements refer rather to Palladius.

The Cotton MS. ascribed to the ninth century by Dr. O'Connor, and which Ussher supposes to be earlier, records that "Germanus and Lupus nurtured and ordained S. Patrick, and made him the chief Bishop of their school among the British Irish."

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would have dwelt with delight on the exploits of the Apostle of Ireland, if the Apostle of Ireland had been an emissary of Rome.

This silence is probably to be accounted for from the fact that the Church of Ireland [1] in the age of Bede concurred with the ancient Church of Britain [2] in re-

[1] Gieseler, Eccl. Hist. § 126, "The union was close between the *British* and *Irish* churches: they retained many old arrangements.

"That the Britons acknowledged no ecclesiastical power of the Pope over them is proved by their opposition to the Roman regulations, an opposition which continued in Ireland down to the twelfth century."

See also Lappenberg's Hist. i. p. 134, "The points of difference between the Roman and British Churches (established probably on the oldest direct tradition from Judea) were, the time of celebrating Easter, the form of tonsure, the administration of baptism, the ecclesiastical benediction of matrimony, the manner of ordination, but above all, the refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope."

[2] Bede, xi. 2, "Non enim paschæ Dominicum diem suo tempore observabant (Brittonum Episcopi) . . . . sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticæ contraria faciebant." Ibid. Augustine (from Rome) says to the British Bishops, "In multis nostræ consuetudini contraria geritis, et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxtà morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ compleatis, ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini prædicetis, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, æquanimiter cuncta tolerabimus. At illi (sc. Brittonum Episcopi) nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse, respondebant."

Neander, Church Hist. vol. iii. sect. 1, p. 164, "If Patrick came to Ireland as a deputy from Rome, it might have been expected that in the Irish Church a certain sense of dependence would always have been preserved towards the mother Church at Rome. But we find, on the contrary, in the Irish Church afterwards, a spirit of Church freedom similar to that shown by the ancient British Church, which struggled against the yoke of Romish ordinances."

"We find subsequently among the Irish, a much greater agreement with the ancient British than with Roman Ecclesiastical usages. This goes to prove that the origin of the Irish Church was independent of Rome.

"Again, no indication of his connexion with the Roman Church is to be found in S. Patrick's *Confession;* rather everything seems to favour the supposition that he was ordained Bishop in Britain itself, in his forty-fifth year." Cp. Todd's S. Patrick, pp. 377, 387, 399.

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sisting the growing encroachments of the Roman See; and Bede was prepossessed in favour of Rome, and viewed with coldness the independence of the Church of Ireland in his own age.

We need not inquire, whether there was not too much vehemence and impatience in the conduct of some of the Irish Ecclesiastics towards Rome at that time; as, assuredly, there was too much of haughtiness in her bearing towards them. But it is necessary to state the fact of the disputes between them, and to note the side to which Bede leaned.

Bede, ii. 4, relates that Laurence, the successor of Augustine at Canterbury, wrote as follows to the Bishops of Ireland:—

"Dominis carissimis fratribus Episcopis vel abbatibus per universam Scotiam . . . Antequam cognosceremus hanc insulam quæ Brittannia nuncupatur, credentes quod juxtà morem universalis Ecclesiæ ingrederentur in magnâ reverentiâ sanctitatis tam Brittonas quam Scottos (the Irish) venerati sumus."

Hence it is clear that before the end of the sixth century (the date of Augustine's mission), the Ecclesiastics of Rome knew very little either of the British or Irish Churches; and that neither of them were then dependent on Rome. "Sed cognoscentes Brittonas, Scottos (i.e. the Irish) meliores putavimus." Even then, *after* that mission into Britain, Laurentius and the other Romish missionaries had still to learn what was the character of the Church of Ireland. And the result of their investigation is declared as follows: "Scottos, per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam (Brittanniam) et Columbanum abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare à Brittonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens non solùm cibum nobiscum sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit."

Therefore (says Bede), Laurentius wrote a letter as above to the Bishops of Ireland, to bring them into communion with them (literas quibus eos in unitate catholicâ confirmare satagit). But, adds Bede, "quantum hæc agendo profecerit adhuc *præsentia tempora declarant*," i.e. the estrangement remained to the eighth century. With regard to the Britons he says, ii. 20, "Usque hodie moris est Brittonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis *magis communicare quam paganis*." And again, ad A.D. 731, he says, "*Brittones maximâ ex parte* gentem Anglorum et totius catholicæ ecclesiæ statum pascha *impugnant*."

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This being the case, it may well be supposed, that while Bede was too honest a man to detract from the credit of Ireland's Apostle, and to tarnish the glory of S. Patrick, yet he would not make any effort to eulogize one who had founded a Church which showed itself resolved not to admit the claims of Rome, modest as those claims were in comparison with what she advanced in a later age.

Hence we may explain the fact, that the name of S. Patrick is never mentioned in the Church History of Bede.

Here an important consideration must be added.

If S. Patrick had been dependent on Rome,—if he had recognized anything like the Supremacy which she afterwards claimed, it is certain that his name would not have been omitted by Bede. Few names would have occurred more frequently in Bede's history than his. Bede there gives full reports of the differences and debates between the Romish and Irish Clergy in the interval of time between S. Patrick's age and his own. And if Bede could have said,—if the Romish Clergy could have said, in their altercations with the Irish Clergy,—that S. Patrick was an emissary from Rome,—if they could have shown that he was obsequious to Rome, and deferred humbly to her, it cannot be imagined that they would never have urged this argument against the Irish Clergy, who strenuously opposed Rome.

Let us now revert to S. Patrick's account of himself, in his Confession.

He there says that his father was a Deacon, and his grandfather a Priest[3]—a proof that the Celibacy,

[3] S. Patricii Confessio, i. "Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et

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which two Popes of Rome, Siricius and Innocent,[4] had then enforced on her Clergy, was no part of Ecclesiastical discipline in the country of Ireland's Apostle.

With regard to Church Government, S. Patrick was a Bishop, and ordained Priests and Deacons.[5] He acknowledged these three orders of Ministers in the Church, and he mentions no others. As to his doctrine, at the beginning of his work he inserts his own

minimus omnium fidelium, patrem habui Calpurnium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ; villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim, Deum verum ignorabam, et Hiberionem (i.e. Ireland. See Wesseling, Antonini Itin. p. 509) in captivitatem adductus sum."

[4] See above, vol. iii. pp. 98—103.

[5] Patricii Confessio, c. 16. He mentions his labours in Ireland "ut clerici *ubique* illis ordinarentur ad plebem *nuper venientem* ad credulitatem (i.e. fidem);" again, c. 17, "ut ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent."

C. 18, "Unde Hiberionæ, qui *nunquam* notitiam Dei habuerunt, *nuper* facta est plebs Domini?"

C. 12, "*Ordinavit* Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam." S. Patrick therefore performed the office of a Bishop: and he says, Epist. ad Coroticum, c. 1, "Ego Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione constitutum me *episcopum* esse fateor. Inter barbaros habito proselytus et profuga . . . pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes."

Patricii Epist. ad Coroticum, c. 3, "In supremis temporibus Hiberione optime et benigne plantata atque instructa erat lege Dei, favente Deo." This Epistle is commonly inscribed to Coroticus, a heathen Cambro-Britannic chief (probably of Glamorganshire) who had carried away many Christians captive, but it ought rather to be called a consolatory address to those who were persecuted by him.

See also Synodus Episcoporum Patricii, Auxilii, Isernini: "Gratias agimus Deo Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Presbyteris et diaconibus et omni clero Patricius, Auxilius et Iserninus episcopi, salutem." Wilkins, Concil. i. p. 2, and Dr. Todd's S. Patrick, p. 485.

Synod. Episcop. Patricii, &c. 30, "Episcopus quilibet, qui de suâ in alteram progreditur *parochiam* nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo qui in suo principatu est." This canon intimates the existence of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland in the age of S. Patrick. See also Canon 34.

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profession of Faith.[6] It bears a striking resemblance to the Nicene Creed, and is as follows :—

"There is no other God" (he declares) "besides God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ, Whom we confess to have been from everlasting with the Father, and Who was begotten before all things, and by Whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and Who was made man, and overcame death, and ascended into heaven to the Father. And God gave unto Him all power over every name in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord and God.[7] We believe in Him, and expect that He will come again to judge the quick and dead, and will render to every man according to his works; and He has poured out upon us abundantly the gift of the Holy Ghost, the pledge of immortality, Who maketh us to believe and obey, and to be sons of God the Father, and to be fellow-heirs of Christ Whom we confess; and we adore One God in the Trinity of the Sacred Name."

In his Epistle to Coroticus, a barbarous British chief (c. 9, 10), he comforts the Christians who were

[6] Patricii Confessio, ii. "Non est alius Deus præter Deum Patrem, ingenitum sine principio, a Quo est omne principium, et Hujus Filium Jesum Christum Quem cum Patre scilicet fuisse semper testamur, ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem, inenarrabiliter ingenitum ante omne principium; et per Ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia, hominem factum, devictâ morte in cælos ad Patrem receptum. Et dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium et terrestrium et infernorum ut omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus (Phil. ii. 10, 11); Quem credimus, et expectamus adventum Ipsius; mox futurus judex vivorum et mortuorum, Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua; et infudit nobis abunde Spiritûs Sancti donum et pignus immortalitatis, Qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii De Patris et cohæredes Christi, Quem confitemur, et adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate Sacri Nominis." [7] Phil. ii. 10, 11.

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maltreated by him, with an assurance that all who suffer for Christ will pass at death into Paradise, and will rise hereafter and reign in glory with Apostles and Prophets and Martyrs in the Kingdom of Christ. He says, "We confess One God and One Baptism," and ends his Epistle with an ascription to the Blessed Trinity.

S. Patrick's Confession is an autobiographical memoir of his ministerial career; and S. Patrick is acknowledged to have been the Apostle of Ireland. To S. Patrick, then, an appeal may be made in a spirit of Christian love, for a solution of the questions which have agitated that unhappy country for many centuries. What is the true Church? What is the ancient Church of Ireland? S. Patrick tells us in his Creed, what, in his judgment, the true Church is. He has set down its faith there.

If S. Patrick had been sent to Ireland from Rome, if he had been consecrated at Rome, if he had been dependent upon Rome, and had supposed that Ireland was subject, temporally or spiritually, to the Roman See, he would have intimated in his Confession that this was the case. The Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland now call themselves "Bishops by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See," meaning the See of Rome. S. Patrick, the first Bishop of Ireland, would have done the same. But let us refer to his life. He mentions the Clergy of Ireland; he mentions the Clergy of Britain; he mentions the Clergy of France; but he never mentions the Clergy of Rome. The words Roman Bishop, Roman See, are not once found there. The name of Rome does not occur in his work. We may leave it to candid inquirers to draw the logical inferences from these facts.

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Let not, however, the merits of Rome in the work of Evangelization be disparaged. After her recovery from her capture by the Goths, she was animated by a new spirit of missionary enterprise. Pope Cælestine's zeal for the spiritual welfare of Britain and Ireland are not to be forgotten. If Leo the Great was the Author (as some suppose) of the book "On the Calling of all Nations," [8] which proclaimed in clear language that God desires all men to be saved, and that Christ died for all, and that consequently it is the duty of the Church to pray for the heathen, and to evangelize them, he gave a fresh impulse to the zeal of those whose hearts glowed with fervent desire for the salvation of the myriads of foreign races which were then flowing from the north. And England will never cease to commemorate with gratitude the mission of Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, sent from Rome at the end of the sixth century by Pope Gregory the Great.

Let us now turn our eyes from the Western Church to the East.

[8] "De Vocatione omnium Gentium," in Leo's Works, pp. 1—35, ed. Quesnel, Lugdun. 1700.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Eastern Church—S. Chrysostom's place in Church History; his work at Antioch.

THE history of the Church is represented, in certain respects, by the history of her great men. The providential care which watched over her, and enabled her to contend against the powers of Evil, and not only to overcome them, but to make them ministerial to good, is traceable in their lives.

In the fourth and fifth centuries we see remarkable illustrations of this truth. The Divine Founder of the Church had promised[1] to build her upon Himself, confessed to be Very God as well as Very Man, and also acknowledged to be the Christ—her Prophet, or Teacher, her Priest, and her King.

[1] Matt. xvi. 18. It may be well for readers of Church History to remember that this Divine promise contains three distinct propositions :—

(1) enunciated by our Lord Himself, viz. His *Manhood.* "Whom say men that I the *Son of Man* am?" and

(2) His Messiahship; and

(3) His Godhead, declared in St. Peter's answer to our Lord's question, "Thou art *the Christ*, the *Son of the living God.*"

Being thus confessed, He is the Rock of the Church (cp. 1 Cor. iii. 11), which the Powers of darkness will never cease to assail, as long as the world lasts, but against which they will never prevail.

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Champions of these doctrines were raised up and preserved in a marvellous manner.

The Episcopate of Athanasius at Alexandria was continued forty-seven years, amid innumerable dangers, to defend the truth of Christ's Godhead against Arianism, and the reality of the Incarnation against Apollinarius. Basil was elevated to the See of Cæsarea to contend for the Deity of Christ against the Emperor of the East, Valens. Gregory Nazianzen restored the faith at Constantinople after its banishment for many years. Ambrose was raised up, almost by supernatural inspiration, from the chair of the civil magistracy to the Episcopal throne of Milan, to fight the same battle against the Emperor of the West, Valentinian the Younger, and his mother Justina.

Augustine was sent from Carthage to Rome, and afterwards from Rome to Milan, by God's providence, acting by the instrumentality of a powerful enemy of Christianity, Symmachus, and was thus brought within the influence of Ambrose, and was caught by him in the net of the Gospel, and came back to his own country, Africa, to become the Teacher of the West.

The doctrines of the two Natures, the divine and human, united but not confused in the One Person of the Eternal Son of God, were established, as we shall see, by the Spirit of God in the Church, acting by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, against Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, at the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), and by Leo the Great against Eutyches at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

Jerome—happily for him and for the Church—was removed from the splendours of Rome, and from the

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steps of the Papal throne, to the quiet retirement of Bethlehem, where he did a work which no one else in Christendom was qualified at that time to do, in communicating to the Western Church the authentic sense of the inspired originals of the Scriptures, in which those doctrines are revealed.

Thus the history of the Church was—if we may so say—like a beautiful tesselated work, in which the lives of her Saints were set, as fair and precious stones and jewels with different colours, each in its proper place, to form a symmetrical and harmonious whole.

But in this spiritual πολυποικιλία, or variegated mosaic of Christian gifts and graces, one thing was still wanting. The Eternal Godhead, the Verity of the Manhood, united to the Godhead in the Person of Christ, were fully displayed to the World in the fourth and fifth centuries. But something more—which had been implied in St. Peter's answer to our Lord's question—was still required; namely, a clear manifestation—in great Cities—of Christ, the great Prophet or Teacher, Priest and King, who should come into the World.

Something indeed had been done in this respect by great Christian Orators, such as Basil at Cæsarea, Ambrose at Milan, Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople. But they were theologians rather than homilists; their Preaching, for the most part, was dogmatic rather than practical; it dwelt more on Christian verities in the abstract, than on their application to the ordinary duties of daily life. Augustine was a wise Teacher of Christian duty, but his sphere as a Preacher was limited to congregations in provincial towns; and he did not aspire to lofty flights of eloquence. We hear of no great Preacher at Rome before Pope

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Leo the First, in the middle of the fifth century, and he was an imitator of Augustine.

A person was raised up to supply the desideratum. This was S. John Chrysostom.

S. Chrysostom was the greatest Preacher of Christ to Ancient Christendom; he is the pattern of Preachers and Missionaries in great Towns. He discharged his work as such in two of the greatest Cities of the East —for about twelve years at Antioch, the capital of Syria, and for six at Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern Empire.

We may trace the hand of God in the life of Chrysostom, as in that of the other great men who have been mentioned.

He was born A.D. 347 at Antioch, probably the same year as S. Jerome. He was, like Augustine, the son[2] of a holy mother, Anthusa, who, after the death of her husband Secundus, an imperial officer in the army of the East, watched tenderly over him. He became the pupil of the celebrated Sophist and Rhetorician Libanius, and was prepared in a school of heathen eloquence to become a Preacher of the Gospel. God's hand was there. Heathenism, according to the well-known simile, was like the Eagle wounded by an arrow feathered by its own plumage; and Libanius, being asked who was to succeed him

[2] The life of Chrysostom was written by his contemporary Palladius in the form of a Dialogue, which is contained in tom. xiii. (see Præf. p. x) of the Benedictine Edition of Chrysostom's Works (ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1738), pp. 1—89, where is also an elaborate life, compiled by the Editor himself, pp. 91—175. This, with the life written by Tillemont (Mémoires, tom. xi.), and by Neander, Berlin, 1858, and that by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, Lond. 1872, and the valuable article by Canon Venables in Wace's Dictionary of Scripture Biography, i. pp. 518—534, will supply all the details that can be desired.

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in his professorship, said, "John" (such was the name by which he was known in his lifetime; the title *Chrysostom*, or *golden mouth*,[3] was added by a grateful and admiring posterity)—"John should have been my successor, if he had not been stolen from us by the Christians."

There was a remarkable dispensation in this preparation for his work of preaching at Antioch. S. Augustine, the Teacher of the Christian Faith, was sent by Symmachus, the Champion of Heathenism, to Milan; so, after his twelve years' Presbyterate at Antioch, Chrysostom, the Preacher of Christian Ethics to the Capital of the East, was carried to it by one of the courtly favourites, the profligate and rapacious Eunuch, Eutropius.

Like Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine, Chrysostom had the benefit of being trained for preaching by practice as an Advocate at the bar. But he was scandalized by the arts to which the lawyers of the day resorted; and he wished—like Jerome—to devote himself to a solitary life, of which he was deeply enamoured.

When he was intending to leave the City and retire into monastic seclusion, his mother—he tells us[4]—took him by the hand one day, and led him with her into her own bedroom, and earnestly entreated him not to leave her in her widowhood and old age. She made him sit by her side on the bed, in which she had given him birth, and burst into tears, and spoke to

[3] He was called χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶτταν by one of his successors, Proclus, after A.D. 437 (Galland. Bibl. Patr. ix. 681). The surname *Chrysostom* is said (by Gieseler, § 84) to have been first used by Joannes Moschus about A.D. 630.

[4] De Sacerdotio, i. p. 10, ed. Hughes, Cant. 1710.

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him of his father, and of her own love to him. "At your father's death, I was distracted by many household cares and difficulties, but nothing could induce me to exchange my solitude for a second marriage. I was resolved by the help of God to pass through a fiery furnace of desolate widowhood, and to live for thee, in whom I saw a living image of my lost husband. Even when thou wast an infant, thou wast to me a comfort and a joy. I have preserved carefully for thee all thy patrimony; whatever has been spent for thee has come out of my own dowry. I do not say this to reproach thee; but in return for all this care of thee I make one petition to thee, that thou wouldest not plunge me in the sorrow of a second widowhood, and awaken the slumbering sorrows of my first loss. They who are young may hope to reach old age, but I am old, and have nothing now to wait for but death. When, therefore, thou hast buried me in the earth, and laid my bones beside thy father's bones, then go and travel to some far-off land, and do what seemeth thee best; there will then be none alive to hinder thee. But as long as we still breathe, bear with me, I pray thee, my dear son, dwell with me, and leave me not. Offend not God by harming thy mother, who has never done any harm to thee."

Chrysostom was moved by this touching appeal, and deferred the fulfilment of his wish till his mother's death; and in the mean time he officiated as a "reader" in the Church at Antioch.

After her decease he retired to the mountains near Antioch, and spent four years in a monastery, and two as a hermit. In this seclusion he profited much by study of the Scriptures, meditation, self-examination, and prayer. His spiritual life was deepened; and

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when he was constrained by the fortunate visitation of sickness to emerge from his retirement in A.D. 381, and to return to Antioch, he was qualified to undertake the work of the Christian ministry. While passing through a five years' diaconate,[5] to which he was ordained by Meletius, he wrote his dialogue "*On the Priesthood.*"[6] This title requires explanation. It is true that the author speaks much of the danger, difficulty, and dignity of the *priestly* office, but only as involved in that of a *Bishop;* and perhaps the title might better be rendered *On the Episcopate.* Chrysostom describes in it his fear of being made a *Bishop*—as some Deacons of extraordinary promise were.[7]

In this dialogue he attempts to justify himself to a friend, Basil (who was under a similar apprehension), for having eluded the danger which Basil incurred, being induced to expect the companionship of Chrysostom in his own consecration to the Episcopate.

This dialogue between Chrysostom and his friend Basil overflows with the exuberant luxuriance of youthful eloquence; and the subtle apology for pious frauds[8] (so different from the straightforward frankness of Augustine[9]) savours rather of the chicanery of the law-courts of Antioch, or the sophistical school of Libanius, through which the author had passed, than of the unadulterated purity of the Gospel, and it would probably have not been approved by Chrysostom in his later years.

The work, however, is interesting as showing his opinions on Christian doctrine, and on the Christian Priesthood.

[5] Socr. vi. 3.
[6] περὶ ἱερωσύνης.
[7] E.g. Athanasius. See Montfaucon's Chrysost. xiii. p. 361.
[8] Lib. i. 9.
[9] Above, p. 93. Cp. Neander, pp. 94—96.

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He declares its dignity, as being instituted by Christ Himself in His love of the souls for which He died; and as having a commission from Him Who said, "Feed My sheep." He asserts it to be more honourable than any earthly office, and full of difficulty and danger.[1] He describes its duties in the work of binding and loosing[2]—in the ministry of the Sacraments, the instruments of regeneration and sanctification — for eternal life. Even St. Paul trembled, he says, at such functions as these. The Priest is often tempted to vainglory (p. 383); sometimes to indolence and lethargy (p. 389); sometimes to impatience and anger (p. 390). Corporal asceticism is easy, but spiritual discipline is hard (389, 593). He complains that Bishops are often chosen for unworthy motives; either from considerations of rank, of family, or of wealth; or from party motives; and that a man ought rather to shun that dignity than to court it.

Many Bishops, he adds, were slaves of women who possessed court-influence.[4]

A Bishop, he says, is censured if he is lax; he is condemned if he is severe; if he truckles to temporal power, he is denounced as a coward (395). "What kind of man must he be" (he asks, and he afterwards felt the force of the question by personal experience at Constantinople), "who has to do battle against all these storms, and to overrule all for good? He must be grave, but not arrogant; he must be revered, and yet mild; he must be able to govern, and yet willing to communicate his authority to others; he must never be swayed by

[1] Lib. ii. 1—4.
[2] Lib. iii. 5, 6, ed. Montfaucon, tom. i.
[3] P. 392.
[4] Cp. Neander, p. 105.

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bribery or flattery; he must be courteous and humble, and yet energetic; he must be valiant, and yet meek and gentle; he must be proof against worldly allurements, and resolved to act with all authority, and to promote worthy men, though all resist their advancement; and he must be determined to reject the unworthy, though all conspire to force them upon him.[5] In a word, he must have a single eye to the edification of the Church of God."

A Bishop has also the care of Widows and Virgins, and of their affairs; and he has judicial duties to perform in the decision of causes, and is distracted by numberless cares.

In addition to this, a Bishop ought to be eloquent. Now that miracles have ceased, such as were wrought by a Paul or a Stephen,[6] he must have intellectual gifts, logical power, literary and theological attainments, and be able to refute the Heathen and the Jews, and all the "heresies of the Evil One—such as those of the Manichæans, Valentinians, Marcionites, Arians, and Sabellians." In a word, he ought to have the rhetorical and argumentative faculties of St. Paul whose character and writings he portrays (p. 415).

In the fifth book he describes the labour necessary in the preparation of Sermons. "People come to Church as to a Theatre, to criticize and be entertained, not to be reproved or exhorted. A man who preaches other people's sermons is denounced as

[5] He dwells on the sin of ordaining unworthy candidates in iv. 2, p. 405.

[6] P. 408. On the cessation of Miracles see also Homil. 23 in Matt., and in Psalm 143, and tom. iii. 276. But these statements must be modified by what he says on Psalm 101, and by what he says of the miracles at the tomb of the martyr Babylas, ii. p. 536 sqq. See above, vol. iii. pp. 155, 156.

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a plagiary. A preacher ought not to court applause, but to be able to gain it. He describes the confusion of a Preacher of an extempore sermon suddenly breaking down (p. 416). A Preacher ought not to despise any one: he ought to be studious and learned; not to disparage the opinions of his audience, and yet to be above them, and lead them; and never to preach for the praise of men, but for the glory of God.

Few (he says) are born with a gift of eloquence, and they who are, will soon fail, if they do not improve it by study. People expect more from a preacher celebrated for oratory than from another man, and are more apt to be disappointed by him, because they come to church to sit as judges of the Preacher, rather than to profit by what is preached (417).

A Bishop is responsible for the sins of the people.[7]

A Priest and a Bishop are in more peril than a Monk. A Priest is appointed to plead with God for men, and ought to be more saintly. "Contemplate him standing at the holy Table, invoking the Holy Ghost, and offering the tremendous sacrifice, and handling the Body and Blood of the Lord. What purity and piety are required of him! What ought to be the hands that offer such things as those, and the tongue that utters such words! How holy ought to be the soul which receives the Divine Spirit! Angels stand at his side, and 'heavenly Powers cry aloud,' and fill the place around the Altar. I have heard of persons who have had visions of these things."

"When you see[8] the Lord Himself sacrificed[9] and

[7] vi. 1, 2, 3.

[8] These paragraphs, beginning "When you see," are inserted here from p. 382.

[9] The reader may remember that Chrysostom carefully guards him-

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lying there, and the Priest standing at the sacrifice and praying over it, and the receivers participating in that blood" (literally, "when you see them reddened by it"), "do you suppose yourself to be any longer among men upon earth? Are you not then transported to heaven? Are you not released from all carnal thoughts? Do you not gaze with a pure and disembodied spirit on heaven? O wondrous privilege! O marvellous love of God! He Who sits above with the Father is embraced with the hands of men, and He gives Himself to be received by them. But this is done with the eye of Faith."

"The Priest's soul ought to be as light enlightening the world, and he ought to go forth from the heavenly presence to converse with men, with the high and lowly, with the married and unmarried. He ought to be a monk in holiness, and a man of the world in practical wisdom."

The dialogue closes with mutual assurances of love.

Chrysostom acted in the spirit of these sentiments when he was ordained Priest (A.D. 386) by Flavian, the successor of Meletius at Antioch,[1] which contained above 200,000 souls,[2] and where he preached to large congregations during a ministry of twelve years.

He was consecrated to the See of Constantinople in A.D. 398, and occupied it for six years.

self against being supposed to teach that the One Sacrifice of Calvary is repeated or continued in the Holy Eucharist. See his words on Heb. x. 9, "We do not offer another sacrifice, but we make a commemoration of a sacrifice;" and also in his letter to Cæsarius he condemns the notion of any carnal presence in it, by the Transubstantiation of the Elements. More will be said on this in the following chapter. See below, pp. 176, 177.

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 326.

[2] Chrys. Hom. in Ignat. ii. pp. 592 sqq.

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The power of Chrysostom's preaching arose from its being grounded on consummate knowledge of Holy Scripture. He did not always preach extempore,[3] and rarely without careful preparation. He usually preached from an ambon, not from the steps of the sacrarium; and generally twice a week, sometimes oftener. His sermons were often interrupted by applause, which he attempted to check.[4] "When I am applauded in the Church," he says, "I go home with a heavy heart; I weep and say to myself, 'Perhaps thy vanity has lost some souls, and thou hast spent thyself for nought.'"[5]

His homilies on St. Matthew, delivered at Antioch, are among the best specimens of his homiletical powers.[6] First comes the Exposition of the sacred words. The interpretations of them are sound, sober, and spiritual, not degenerating into the servile literalism of the rationalizing school, such as was, in some degree, sanctioned by his instructor Diodorus, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus, and found favour with Theodore of Mopsuestia; and which, with low views of inspiration, made the human element to predominate, and gave an impulse to Pelagianism,[7] and to Nestorianism.

But, on the other hand, the eloquence of Chrysostom never roamed into those wild extravagances of fantastic allegories, which blemished the homilies of Origen, and undermined the historical foundation of Holy Scripture itself.[8]

[3] Montfaucon, tom. xiii. pp. 99, 126. Neander, p. 112.

[4] See on Acts, Hom. 31, and on Matt. Hom. 17, and Tom. v. p. 29; and as to the custom of applauding in Churches, see above, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15.

[5] Hom. 30 in Acta Apost.

[6] Cp. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 127. See below, pp. 139, 140.

[7] Neander, Life of Chrysostom, p. 34.

[8] Chrysostom, like Augustine, did not neglect the figurative system of

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On this solid exegetical basis Chrysostom built a superstructure of sound moral teaching, which did not expend itself in vague generalities, but applied itself with wonderful vivacity and vigour to deal with popular errors and vices of the day. Events of public interest, the cares and occupations, the recreations and amusements, of social and domestic life, have a place in the cosmical panorama which is surveyed by the Preacher from the pulpit. The Court, its splendours, its follies, and its vices; the magnificent costume of the Emperor in his golden car of state; its purple curtains, and precious stones; the royal cortége and equipage, and armed cavalcade;[9] the brilliant costume of the courtiers—all these are displayed to the audience, and moral lessons are drawn from them. The wealth of the princely palaces, their furniture, statues, and pictures; the costly attire of their inmates; the retinues of fair slaves in brilliant attire; the luxury of their banquets; the musical concerts with which they were enchanted; the aromatic perfumes with which they were refreshed—these are not forgotten.[1] In a word, the brilliant magnificence and sumptuous voluptuousness of the scenes he describes are such as might be supposed to be drawn from an Arabian seraglio, or from a Persian Paradise.

These were pictures of the nobler and wealthier classes; but the humbler and poorer were not forgotten by him.

interpretation, but made a sober use of it. See, for example, tom. iii. p. 283. Cp. Neander, Life of Chrysostom, pp. 29—34, and Waterland, Preface to Scripture Vindicated, vi. pp. 18—20.

[9] See i. 117; iii. 17; iv. 447; vi. 295. See Montfaucon, xiii. p. 192, who cites these passages.

[1] Tom. vii. 533. Montfaucon, xiii. pp. 192, 193.

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The vast multitude of his hearers were entertained by other delights in those two great capitals. The immense hippodrome, the frenzied excitement of the rival partisans at the race-course, which lay open to thousands of spectators from the roofs of the neighbouring houses;[2] the athletic and gymnastic games in the arena; the sensual allurements of the theatre,[3] and the dissolute scenes there enacted, by which the virtue of many was corrupted, and the happiness of many fond parents was destroyed, were not beyond the range of the Preacher's view, but were pressed into his service; even the rope-dancers, jugglers, conjurors, fortune-tellers, buffoons in the streets, mingled with grave philosophers, with long beard, staff, and cloak, were grouped together in his homiletical sketches; the mountebanks, tossing up knives in rapid succession into the air, and catching them by the handle; or balancing poles on their foreheads, and setting little children to wrestle on the tops of them[4]—all these gave occasions for enlarging on the wonderful pains which men take to acquire mean arts for amusing others, and for their applause, and for gaining a little money in this world; and the skill they display in those arts is contrasted with the carelessness of most men, and their indifference and lack of zeal to please God, and to win His approval, and for their own everlasting salvation.

The marvellous fulness of Chrysostom's scriptural knowledge, and his extraordinary dexterity in applying it, made it almost seem as if the Author of Scripture Himself was addressing those vast multitudes whom the preacher earnestly desired to save. And the fervour of his imagination, the liveliness of his

[2] Chrys. xiii. p. 193, Montf. [3] vii. pp. 422—780. [4] ii. p. 332.

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fancy, and the dramatic versatility of his style, in which he engaged his hearers in dialogues with himself in a rapid interchange of questions and answers between them and the preacher, gave an extraordinary charm to his discourses, which they who perhaps saw themselves portrayed by them, and felt themselves reproved by them, would neither be willing to resent, nor able to resist.[5]

But it was not only by such qualities as these that the eloquence of Chrysostom commended itself to the people of Antioch and Constantinople; it was by its practical good sense, and overflow of Christian love.

It has been said by one[6] who has done excellent service to Chrysostom's memory, that while, among the Fathers of the Church, Augustine represents most fully the spirit of St. Paul, S. Chrysostom displays that of St. John—by exuberance of Christian Charity. But Chrysostom manifested not only the contemplative love of St. John, but the practical energy of St. Peter. Both these characteristics were fruits of divine grace in a naturally fervid temperament, and of his own position as a preacher to thou-

[5] The words of the Benedictine Editor (tom. i. Præf.) on the character of Chrysostom's eloquence may be added here :—"Whether previously prepared or unprepared, he was always master of his subject, and exercised a wonderful power of persuasion, with a never-failing flow of words, and infinite felicity of invention and succession of imagery. He understood the hearts of his people, and delighted them with things by which many are displeased. He brought tears from their eyes at will; he reproved and corrected their vices, and confirmed their faith; he refuted Jews and heretics, and was frequently interrupted by the rapturous applause of his hearers, and gained for himself the title of the Preacher with the *mouth of gold*." See also Bingham, Antiquities, xiv. 4, and Dupin, there quoted, on the eloquence of Chrysostom.

[6] Neander, Life of Chrysostom, p. 6. Cp. Neander, Church History, iv. 477—488, and iii. 171, 304, 359, 374, 375.

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sands of immortal souls in two of the greatest cities of the world.

His own spiritual temperament was in favour of Monasticism[7] and Celibacy,[8] and he is eloquent in praise of both. But experience of life in populous cities led him to qualify his earlier language in both these respects.[9] He deplores the fact that Christianity was supposed by some to have divided human life into two distinct societies, one the religious life for celibates and monks,[1] the other the secular life for the rest of mankind, who were supposed to be exempt from religious obligations. He took a nobler view. Christianity was the salt to season, and the leaven to leaven, the whole of human society. He is earnest in his exhortations to Parents to encourage their sons to marry.[2] He entertained, as we have seen, a high estimate of the dignity of the Christian Priesthood, and of the holiness of the Christian Church; and he is urgent in his exhortations to constant attendance at public worship in the Church, and to frequent Communion.[3] But he earnestly exhorts every man to assert for himself the dignity, and to discharge faithfully the duties, of a Christian Priest in his own family; so that every house[4] of the city may become a Church, not indeed by

[7] In one of his earlier works he compared a Monk to a King (i. 116), and gave the preference to the former. See his reply to those who censure Monasticism, i. 45, 46.

[8] See his Work de Virginitate, i. 268.

[9] Neander, Life of Chrysostom, pp. 59—63, 71.

[1] See iii. 278, 286, 353, and in Heb. vii. and 1 Cor. vi., the passages quoted by Neander, Life, p. 63.

[2] See his Sermons on Marriage, iii. 193, 211—228, on 1 Cor. vii. 2; iii. 297, 382, 383.

[3] Neander, Life, p. 320.

[4] De Cruce et Latrone, ii. 404; de Annâ, iv. § 6; iv. 738, ed. Montf.; and Neander, Life of Chrys., pp. 62, 63, 207, 208, 209, 211, 332.

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the ministry of the Sacraments in it, but by daily domestic worship, and daily reading of the Scriptures[5] by the Master of it, even though a man of business. Yes, and *because* he is a man of business, he ought to consecrate it to God, and pray for a blessing on it, together with his wife and children and servants. In all these appeals his motive power was Love. And while he lays great stress on the regular use of all the divinely appointed means of grace—Prayer, private, domestic, and public, Holy Scripture, and Sacraments, and on the duties of Almsgiving and Fasting—he represents all these as vain, if done with outward formalism, and not from a vital spring of faith working by love, in the discharge of the common duties of piety and charity in daily life.[6]

The following is a specimen of his frequent exhortations to constant study of the Scriptures:—"I exhort and will never cease to exhort you, not only to listen diligently to what you hear in Church, but also to give yourselves constantly to the reading of the Scriptures. Let no one put me off with the idle excuse, 'I am busy with mercantile affairs, I am engaged in trade; it is not for such people as I am to read the Bible, but for those who have bidden adieu to the world.' O man, what words are these! It is not for you to read the Bible, because you are busy! Why, your business is the very reason why you, above all men, ought to read it. You, who are tossed about with worldly cares, have special need of its help. You will receive deadly wounds from the devil, unless you have the spiritual

[5] i. 737, and Homil. 29 in Genes., and iii. 304. Neander, Life, pp. 205, 211, 219, 221. Chrysostom is specially eloquent and emphatic on the duty of every one to study daily the Scriptures, which he describes as the divine medicines for all diseases of the soul.

[6] See Neander, pp. 310, 320, 327, 347.

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armour which only the Bible can give. No one can be saved without it. Artisans have their tools, and they have them always at hand, their hammers, their anvil, their tongs. Your tools are in the Bible ; you cannot work without it. Do not tell me that the Bible is hard to be understood ; it was mercifully ordered by the Holy Ghost, that it should be written by publicans and fishermen, in order that it might be composed in a simple style intelligible by all, in all things necessary for salvation."[7]

He refers to the example of the Ethiopian Treasurer reading the Bible in his chariot (Acts viii. 28). No time or place is unfit for the study of God's Word.[8]

There was much in Chrysostom's position at Antioch which gave a powerful influence to his spiritual energy. Antioch was the well-spring of missionary life to the Gentile world. There Paul and Barnabas had been ordained to the Apostleship of the heathen.[9] There the disciples were first called Christians.[1] There St. Peter probably, and S. Ignatius[2] certainly, the disciple of St. John and Martyr, had presided over the Church as Bishop. There was the grave of the holy martyr Babylas, celebrated in the history of Julian.[3]

The most memorable event during Chrysostom's

[7] Homil. 3, in Luke xvi., de Lazaro. A long Catena of passages from Chrysostom's work on the indispensable duty of continual study of the Bible by all classes of society, in private and in families, may be seen in Archbishop Ussher's valuable Treatise de Sacris Vernaculis, Lond. 1690, pp. 33—50. Cp. Lardner's Credibility, Works, vol. ii. pp. 609, 610, for an English translation of some of these.

[8] iv. 351. [9] Acts xiii. 1—3. [1] Acts xi. 26.

[2] The authority of Chrysostom in favour of the Seven Ignatian Epistles has been successfully appealed to by Bp. Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. cap. ii. pt. 2, p. 205. Chrysostom delivered a homily upon Ignatius, ii. 592.

[3] Above, vol. ii. p. 15. Chrysostom delivered a homily on his memory, vol. ii. p. 536.

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ministry at Antioch was a riot, caused by the levy of excessive taxation on the City by the Emperor Theodosius, in A.D. 387, for the defrayal of the expenses of the celebration of the fifth year of his elder son Arcadius, and of his own tenth year, and of the war against the usurper Maximus in the West.

The populace vented its fury by tearing down the statues of the Emperor, and even of his beloved wife, now no longer living, Flaccilla, and by dragging them in contumely through the streets.

The sedition was quelled by the Prefect of the City, who sent intelligence of the outrage to Theodosius; and the rage of the citizens was succeeded by panic alarms, and by forebodings of the severe punishment by which it would be avenged.

During that interval of suspense Chrysostom delivered twenty-one Sermons, entitled "*On the Statues*,"[4] in the second year after his ordination as priest.

They are interesting specimens of the practical manner in which he made use of public events for the improvement of his hearers in Christian morality. The City was stunned by dread of the Emperor's wrath. News was brought from Constantinople that Theodosius had threatened to disfranchise Antioch, and to transfer the honour of the metropolis to Laodicea, and even to reduce the city to ashes. Many, who had never come to the church before, now flocked to it,[5] and expressed their sorrow by tears, and in special litanies.[6]

Chrysostom endeavoured to raise their minds upward, from dread of the Emperor's wrath, to an

[4] Εἰς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας. They are contained in the Second Volume of the Benedictine Edition.

[5] Hom. iv. vi. xvii.

[6] Sozomen, vii. 23.

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apprehension of God's righteous anger for their sins, and to meditations on the future eternal punishment which they would incur, unless they repented and amended their lives. The sins with which he specially deals, are blasphemy, swearing, self-indulgence, unmercifulness to the poor; and he encourages them, if they repent, to have faith in God's providence and mercy, which would deliver the faithful and obedient from death eternal.

But he warned them that fasting and tears will be of no avail without holiness of life.

In the third homily he mentions that Flavian, their Bishop, had left Antioch on a journey to the Emperor, in order to intercede for the City, although he was old and infirm, and it was winter, and his only sister was lying on her death-bed.

It appears that many of the rioters were summoned before the tribunal of the imperial Magistrates at Antioch,[7] and were scourged and tortured; and that many of the citizens had fled in alarm from the city to the mountains. Many rumours were current, which announced terrible calamities to those who remained in it, and almost the whole population was preparing to leave it. Chrysostom encouraged them to remain, and to put their trust in God. He preached to them concerning Paul in prison,[8] and on his greater joy and glory in suffering tribulation for Christ than in working miracles.

The seventeenth of these homilies was preached when the two Commissioners, Ellebutius and Cæsarius, despatched by the Emperor, had arrived. The city was disfranchised, the halls of commerce, public baths, and theatres were closed, and many of the

[7] See Hom. xiii.

[8] Hom. xvi.

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ringleaders were cast into prison, and the names of many others were publicly posted up in tables of proscription. Chrysostom comforted them with the assurance that they had not suffered loss by exclusion from the theatres; and that the true dignity of Antioch consisted, not in being the metropolis of Syria, but in being the City where the disciples were first called Christians,[9] and which had sent relief in a famine to the Saints at Jerusalem.[1]

In the twenty-first homily the aspect of affairs was changed; the storm had blown over, and clear sky appeared. The Bishop of Antioch, Flavian, had returned from Constantinople. He had made a pathetic appeal to the Emperor;[2] and after humbly imploring his clemency, had reminded him of his own future account to the Judge of all, Who said, "If ye forgive, ye shall be forgiven."[3] Theodosius was passionate, but placable. He granted the Bishop's petition, and spared the City. Happy would it have been for Theodosius, if the sedition of Thessalonica had afterwards ended in the same way as the riot at Antioch; and that he had then had at his side a Flavian instead of a Rufinus, when he was about to give orders for the terrible massacre in Thessalonica. Flavian returned to his people in the early spring, and spent a joyful Easter with them.

The ninety homilies on St. Matthew were delivered by Chrysostom at Antioch.[4] Thomas Aquinas said that he had rather have composed those homilies than

[9] Hom. xvii.
[1] Acts xi. 28, 29.
[2] Sozomen, vii. 23.
[3] Luke vi. 37.
[4] They fill the Seventh Volume of the Benedictine Edition. An excellent separate critical edition of them has been published by Dr. Field, three vols., Camb. 1837.

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have been master of Paris.[5] As has been already observed, the Preacher generally began with an exposition of the sacred text; and he then devoted the rest of his discourse to a practical application of it. The Benedictine editor of his works does not scruple to say [6] that there is no book extant, which contains so many precepts of Christian morality as these homilies on St. Matthew. In none of his compositions did Chrysostom display such varied powers of invention, eloquence, and sagacity in the formation of moral character, and in the eradication of vice, and in directions for the guidance of Christian households.

The eighty-eight homilies on St. John,[7] delivered also at Antioch, are rather a running Commentary on the Gospel, than an elaborate adaptation of it to ethical uses.

He also delivered at Antioch his homilies on the Epistles to the Romans,[8] the Corinthians,[9] the Galatians,[1] the Ephesians,[2] to Timothy,[3] to Titus,[4] and on the Acts of the Apostles.[5]

By such works Chrysostom not only spoke to his own age, in his own words, but he ministered a supply of spiritual life which has flowed in the expository teaching of the Eastern Church to the present day. All succeeding Greek Expositors (such as Theophylact, Euthymius, Œcumenius, and the framers of *Catenas*, as they are called) drank at this well-spring. Chrysostom was to the East what Augustine was to the West—the Fountain of Scriptural Exposition.

[5] Papir. Masson de Rom. Pontif. lib. vi. [6] xiii. p. 128.
[7] Tom. viii. [8] Tom. ix. [9] Tom. x.
[1] Tom. x. p. 655. [2] Tom. xi. [3] Tom. xi. p. 546.
[4] Tom. xi. p. 728.
[5] Tom. ix. But the greater part of these were delivered at Constantinople (xiii. p. 138), as were the homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

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At Antioch also he delivered his homilies on some books of the Old Testament—on Genesis, sixty-six in number,[6] and on the Psalms,[7] and on portions of Isaiah;[8] but these were written before his ordination to the Priesthood.[9]

It is almost impossible to give to the reader an adequate conception of the characteristics of Chrysostom's homiletical powers in an English translation; so much of their excellence being derived from the peculiar grace and richness of his language, and from those delicate idiomatic niceties in Greek which can hardly be reproduced in another tongue.

Let me however be pardoned for one or two attempts. The following is from a homily on the eighth Psalm. He is proving that the dispersion of the Jews is an argument in favour of Christianity.[1]

"The Jews formerly dwelt in one country, but are now dispersed through all. If you ask the reason of this, none can be given but that they crucified Christ. Formerly they were sometimes carried captive to one land, as to Babylon, and for a few years. But now their exile is interminable. And if you ask them, Why they crucified Christ? they will answer, Because He was an impostor and a juggler. Yes, but you Jews ought therefore to have been honoured for your zeal, and your territory to have been enlarged, for doing an act well-pleasing to God. For he who destroys impostors and jugglers takes away enemies of God; and he who takes away God's enemies is entitled to honour. Phinehas, who destroyed a harlot, received the reward of an everlasting priesthood from God for his zeal. You ought to have received a greater

[6] Tom. iv. [7] Tom. v. and vi. [8] Tom. vi.
[9] Tillemont, xi. 90. Montf. xiii. 127. [1] Tom. v. p. 77.

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recompense for destroying a false prophet. And yet you are now homeless outcasts and vagabonds in all nations. And why? Because you have killed your Protector and Benefactor, the Teacher of the Truth. If He had been a deceiver, and if He, Who declared Himself to be God, had not been God; if He, Who claimed for Himself God's glory, had claimed that which was not His due, then you, by destroying Him, would have been more illustrious than Phinehas and Samuel, who showed their zeal for God's honour, and in defence of His law.

"You, who are now free from idolatry, are suffering far more severe punishment, than when you were guilty of that sin, and than when you sacrificed your sons and daughters to false gods. And there seems to be no end of your miseries; you are exiles and wanderers by sea and by land, having no home; bereft of your country and priesthood, and driven far from what you once enjoyed. You are now execrated by all, and persecuted by all. Formerly when you were guilty of sin, there was some respite of your punishment. When you were worshippers of Baal-peor, when you adored the golden calf, and sacrificed your children to idols, and committed these abominations though God was then with you in signs and wonders, yet you were pardoned and spared. God gave you Moses and the Prophets, in Egypt and at Babylon, to console you. But now, when you do not see the Red Sea divided before your eyes, and the flinty rock gushing out with water, and when you are more virtuous in other respects than your fathers were, you have no Prophets to comfort you, and you are chastised more severely than they ever were. And yet if Christ were a deceiver, you are now entitled to

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special praise for zeal in putting Him to death. And God, Who is infinitely just, has ever dealt with you according to your deserts. Is it not therefore clear, that you have committed a sin far more heinous than any committed by your forefathers? And what sin is that? The Crucifixion of Christ. Repent of *that sin*, and you will be pardoned—but *not till then*."

The following[2] may serve as specimens of his manner in availing himself of trivial, every-day objects as illustrations of Christian truths, and as occasions for spiritual instruction:—

"Why are we encompassed by snares in this world? Why? because we are like birds, and ought to fly aloft if we wish to escape them. The Devil is a fowler, and tries to ensnare us; but if we soar upward in a spiritual life, we shall be safe. And by flying upward we shall have a true estimate of earthly things, just as when we mount a hill, and look down on the city, the buildings seem small, and the men in the streets like ants; so by heavenly cogitations you will be freed from doting on worldly honour and wealth, and will dwell on the things of Eternity."[3]

"You say that you are exempt from this or that vice. Very well; but perhaps you are guilty of some other sin. Are you then safe? No. The sparrow which is caught in a snare has its wings at liberty, but its foot is held fast in the springe, and the freedom of its wings does it no good. It is a doomed bird; and you are like it."[4]

"You would be very much offended if any one were

[2] I have had the pleasure and benefit of reading a MS. lecture on Chrysostom by my dear brother the Bishop of St. Andrews. This and the two following extracts are abridged from that lecture.

[3] ii. 182. [4] ix. 234.

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to call you dog. Yes. But believe me, there are many among you who take more care of their hounds than of their souls. They do not allow their dogs to be over-fed, lest their scent or speed should suffer from surfeiting; they train them to be sober, temperate, philosophical, and almost Christian. The well-trained dog, when he has caught his prey, though he may be almost starved, will not touch a bit of it, but brings it to his master. Will you learn wisdom from your dog? Govern your appetites,[5] as you train your dog. Be as obedient to your heavenly Master as your dog is to you."

[5] ix. 294.

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CHAPTER XIX.

The Eastern Church—S. Chrysostom's place in Church History; his work at Constantinople as Archbishop of that see; his banishment, death, and character.

ON Sept. 17, A.D. 397, the Archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople became vacant by the death of Nectarius, who had succeeded Gregory Nazianzen in A.D. 381.[1] There were many candidates for the vacant see;[2] but the faithful members of the Church earnestly entreated the Emperor Arcadius to nominate a person who would not consult his own interest, but promote the welfare of the flock.

The choice of the clergy and people, it is asserted by Socrates and Sozomen,[3] fell upon Chrysostom, and the Emperor, they say, approved the selection; but the actual appointment was made in a remarkable manner.

The avaricious, haughty, hypocritical, and cruel Rufinus had been assassinated by Gainas the Goth, the ally of Stilicho,[4] on Nov. 27, A.D. 395, and had been succeeded by his rival in power, and more than his equal in iniquity, the Eunuch Eutropius.[5]

[1] Above, vol. ii. p. 330.
[2] Pallad. Vit. Chrys. p. 42.
[3] Socr. vi. 2. Soz. viii. 2.
[4] Gibbon, vol. v. chap. xxix. p. 155.
[5] Ibid. chap. xxix. p. 160, and chap. xxxii. pp. 375—391.

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Eutropius had gained the favour of the Court by extricating Arcadius from a proposed matrimonial connexion with the daughter of Rufinus,[6] and by commending to his affections Eudoxia, who was the daughter of Bauto, a General of the Franks in the service of Rome, and who was distinguished by beauty, intelligence, and passionate impetuosity, and acquired an absolute control and command over the mind and acts of her imperial consort, Arcadius.

Eutropius had been occasionally among the hearers of Chrysostom, and, to his great credit, commended him to Arcadius; and in order to effect his removal from Antioch, which would have been vehemently opposed by the people, and to ensure his elevation to the See of Constantinople, persuaded the Emperor to send a despatch to the Governor of Syria, with instructions to convey him to the imperial city.[7] He effected this by an artifice; by which he decoyed Chrysostom from Antioch, and then transported him to Constantinople.

Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus,[8] Chrysostom was consecrated and enthroned, Feb. 26, A.D. 398.

Constantinople was at this time, if we may so speak, at the antipodes of Rome in the spiritual world. At Rome the Western Emperor was almost a cypher; at Constantinople the Eastern Emperor was almost everything. In the same year as Chrysostom was raised to the archiepiscopal throne in the Capital of the Eastern Empire, Anastasius was raised to the Roman Pontificate. Anastasius issued

[6] Gibbon, vol. v. chap. xxix. p. 147.

[7] Pallad. Vit. Chrys. c. 5. Socr. vi. 2. Soz. viii. 2. Theodoret, v. 27.

[8] Sozomen, viii. 2.

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his edicts far and wide in the West, as Siricius had done before him, and few cared to gainsay them. But the Patriarch of Constantinople was in a very different position. His see was comparatively a new one. It was regarded with special jealousy by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus, who had attempted to resist the consecration of Chrysostom, and to place a Priest of his own Church, Isidore, in the vacant room of Nectarius,[9] and was forced by Eutropius to join in consecrating Chrysostom, whom he afterwards pursued with unrelenting acrimony.

In a word, while the Pope was hardly less than Sovereign at Rome, the Eastern Emperor claimed to be more than Patriarch of Constantinople.

We may recognize the working of divine Providence in the elevation and consecration of such a person as John Chrysostom at Constantinople, by the agency of the Eunuch Eutropius governing his master Arcadius. It brought out in bold prominence and vigorous energy the inner spiritual life of the Church of Christ as independent of the support, and as antagonistic to the usurpations, of the secular power. It led, in a word, to a courageous protest from the most eloquent of Christian Fathers against what in later times is commonly known as the Erastian policy.

Chrysostom's position had been rendered still more difficult by the character and administration of his predecessor, Nectarius.

Nectarius, like S. Ambrose, had been raised to the Episcopate from the ranks of the Laity.[1] But this was the only thing in which he bore any resemblance to the valiant Bishop of Milan. He owed his elevation to the will of the Emperor; and he carried his ob-

[9] Socr. vi. 2.

[1] Above, vol. ii. p. 330.

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sequiousness to such a degree of adulation of power, that his imperial patron complained of his servility, and declared that he had never known any Bishop but Ambrose,[2] by whom, when guilty of a heinous sin, he was resisted and rebuked, and whom he thanked for his loyalty and courage.

Under such an Archbishop, Church discipline languished. The abolition by him of the office of the Penitentiary[3] Priest at Constantinople, in consequence

[2] Above, vol. iii. p. 55, where he is contrasted with Nectarius.

[3] See Socr. v. 19, who deplores the change, and Soz. vii. 16, who laments the laxity of the times. As to the Penitential Discipline of the ancient Church, see Hooker, VI. iv., who traces its history down to the time of Chrysostom's Episcopate :—

Public Confession is recommended to penitents by Tertullian * and by Cyprian † and S. Ambrose,‡ with a view of obtaining the benefit of the prayers of the Church. In the third century, as it seems, § in order to obviate the scandals that arose "from the multitude of public penitents," the Greek Church appointed some one Presbyter to be a Penitentiary in each church to receive voluntary Confessions in private, with a view to public penance, if requisite, and consequent absolution by the Bishop. This office was abolished by Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the latter part of the fourth century,‖ and the successor of Nectarius, S. Chrysostom, in several places gives as his counsel to penitents to confess their sins to God; but disclaims any intention or desire of making them confess to man. At that time, Confession of secret sins to God alone was the practice of the Church. Public offenders were put to public penance, but the Confession of secret sins was left to the discretion and conscience of those who committed them.**

If *private* Confession and *private* Absolution (however desirable and requisite in certain cases) were, as some allege, *necessary* to the spiritual

* Tertullian de Pœnitent. c. 9 and c. 10. Bingham, Book XVII. chap. iii.

† S. Cyprian de Lapsis, c. 14.

‡ S. Ambrose de Pœnitentiâ, ii. 7, "Quid vereris apud bonum Dominum tuas iniquitates fateri?" and ii. 10, "Fleat pro te Mater Ecclesia ; amat Christus ut pro uno multi rogent."

§ See Mr. Keble on Hooker, VI. iv. 9.

‖ Socrates, H. E. v. 19. Sozomen, vii. 16. Cp. Hooker, VI. iv.

** Marshall, p. 44. Bingham, Book XV. chap. viii. sec. 6.

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of the scandals to which it gave rise, seems to have been produced by a feeling which (in Augustine's words) is ashamed of the bandage of a wound, while it cares little for the wound itself.

It is not surprising that the vices of the Eastern Court and Aristocracy had reached a dangerous height under so feeble a Sovereign as Arcadius, so profligate a Minister as Eutropius, and so lax a Bishop as Nectarius.

The moral condition of the Clergy and Laity at Constantinople after the Episcopate of Nectarius, lasting for sixteen years, called for keen vigilance and energetic correction from his successor; it was also a serious hindrance to the successful exercise of that discipline, which was urgently required by it. The stern and uncompromising inflexibility, the rigid asceticism, the heroic courage, ardent enthusiasm, and vehement impetuosity of the new Archbishop disqualified him in a certain sense for the task which was before him. Chrysostom, succeeding Nectarius, was like a foreshadowing of what the Church of England saw in the seventeenth century, when William Laud (in A.D. 1633) followed George Abbot in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Chrysostom was a martyr to the cause of Church discipline.[4]

health of the soul, it must be acknowledged that the Church of God was in a state of spiritual sickness from the time of the Apostles for 1200 years; it was not till A.D. 1215, that private Confession was made obligatory by the Church of Rome,†† and then only once a year.

[4] "That temper in the Archbishop (Abbot)," says Clarendon (i. 88), "whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of the factious party, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce

†† At the Fourth Lateran Council, Canon 21, Concil. ed. Labbe, xi. p. 172. Private Confession was not enforced in the twelfth century, see Gratian, in Jus Canonicum, Dist. de Pœnitentiâ, c. 79.

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At first, things went on smoothly. The Empress Eudoxia joined the love of worldly pomp and pleasure with a fondness for the excitement of a splendid religious ritual; and the new Archbishop was not unwilling to encourage her pious zeal.

In the first year of Chrysostom's Episcopate a terrible Earthquake shook the imperial city, and produced general consternation. Many quitted it in alarm. Some supposed that the end of the World was at hand.[5] The Empress was inspired with religious awe, and invited the Archbishop to join her in a penitential and intercessory service, and in a sacred procession from the "great Church" of the City to the "Martyrium" or Church of St. Thomas, nine miles from Constantinople, and in the reverential transportation of relics of Martyrs to that place, and to preach to the people on the occasion. Chrysostom was also fired with religious enthusiasm, which burst forth from his lips with all the Asiatic fervour of an extemporaneous and ecstatic address.[6] "What shall I say? What shall I speak? I exult, I am mad;[7] but such madness is better than wisdom. I am wafted aloft and intoxicated with spiritual rapture. What shall I say?

a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was filled by many weak and more wilful Churchmen."

[5] Augustine, de Urbis Excidio (vol. vi. p. 1051), mentions a similar alarm produced by terrific phenomena at Constantinople, A.D. 396, which led to a similar demonstration. As to the expectation of the End of the World, see Chrys. xiii. 191.

[6] This and some other Sermons of Chrysostom were discovered (some say in a monastery of Mount Athos; others assert, in the Isle of Patmos) after the publication of the Editions of Sir Henry Savile and Morell, and are contained in vol. xii. of the Benedictine Edition. See there also vol. xiii. p. 232.

[7] The utterance of these words was afterwards made one of the charges against Chrysostom; see below, p. 173.

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What shall I first describe? The virtue of the Martyrs, the alacrity and zeal of the Empress,[8] the concourse of Princes, the fury of the Evil one, the discomfiture of fiends, the triumph of the Church, the miracles of the Crucified, the glory of the Father, the grace of the Holy Spirit?"

He does not exhort to pray to the Martyrs, but expresses a hope that they will join in the prayers of the people for the Empress, that she may have the blessing of children and of children's children.

In this oration he shows his reverence for the mortal remains of Martyrs; and in a homily at Antioch he mentioned Miracles as frequently wrought 'by the holy Martyrs," especially at their tombs.[9] He had no doubt that the interposition which put a stop to the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem by the Emperor Julian was miraculous.[1] But, as has been before observed,[2] in other places he speaks of miracles as having ceased.[3] An explanation has been already offered of this seeming discrepancy.

But to return to the procession.

The next day the Emperor Arcadius came with a splendid retinue. He laid aside his diadem; and his body-guard, having deposited their shields and spears, joined with him in paying their devotions.[4] After they had retired, Chrysostom again addressed the people, and told them not to pray to the Martyrs, but to emulate them; to imitate their courage, zeal, faith,

[8] Tom. xii. 331.

[9] ii. 555. Cp. ii. 93, 645; xiii. 182.

[1] v. 271; vii. 47. See above, vol. ii. p. 173.

[2] Above, vol. iii. p. 156.

[3] i. 464; iii. 64, 65, 76; iv. 411; vii. 375; viii. 134, 427; ix. 100; x. 257; xi. 387, 591; and see Lardner's Credibility, ii. 616, 617, where these passages are translated into English.

[4] xii. p. 335; xiii. p. 135.

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and disdain of all earthly things, and their ardent desire for the things of Eternity. "We have not now, as they had, to encounter flames or wild beasts. But we have flames within us; we have wild beasts in our hearts—lust, anger, envy, and other evil passions. Let us wage war against them, that we may attain eternal glory, by the mercy and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom and with Whom be glory to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, now and for evermore."

In January, A.D. 399, Eutropius the Eunuch, then High Chamberlain and Consul, who had been instrumental in raising Chrysostom to the See of Constantinople,[5] fell from his high eminence as rapidly as he had risen to it.[6]

He incurred the charge of an insult to the Empress; and was sacrificed to the menaces of a rebel Ostrogoth, Tribigild, who demanded his life. Having fled to Chrysostom for protection, and to the Church for right of sanctuary (which he himself had proscribed by means of an imperial edict), he was at first banished to Cyprus, and afterwards thence recalled, and executed at Chalcedon.

These events gave occasion to one of Chrysostom's most eloquent, and almost unpremeditated, discourses on the vanity of all human greatness, and on the instability of all earthly things; which were illustrated[7] by the presence of the humbled favourite, crouching beneath the altar in the Church, and supplicating for protection from the indignation of his imperial Master, whom formerly he had ruled; and having no friend and protector left but the Bishop, who resisted

[5] See above, p. 146.

[6] Gibbon, vol. v. chap. xxix. p. 147, and chap. xxxii. pp. 375, 390.

[7] Tom. iii. pp. 379—386.

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the imperial demands by sheltering the suppliant in the asylum of the Church, and who appealed to the pity of the people in behalf of fallen greatness.

"Vanity of Vanities! all is Vanity. Where now is the pride of state, the pomp of office and luxury of him who was lately lord of all? Where the plaudits of the City, the acclamations of the Games, the adulation of the spectators? All, all are gone. A sudden blast has swept off the leaves of the tree, which is bare and stricken to the roots. All that earthly grandeur has vanished like a dream. The shadow has flitted away; the bubble has burst. 'Vanity of Vanities! all is Vanity.' Let these words be inscribed on our houses, in our markets, on the walls and gates of our City."

He then appeals to Eutropius, and reminds him of his own former exhortations, which had been treated with scorn. "Thy friends who flattered thee have forsaken thee, but the Church whom thou treatedst as an enemy opens wide her arms to receive thee in her bosom."

"Do not think that I would reproach him or exult over him (said the preacher, turning to the people). No; God forbid! I look on him with compassion and sorrow, and I invoke your sympathy for him, and would persuade you by his example to cast away your own love of earthly things, and to long and to labour for those which are eternal; and to learn a lesson of forgiveness of injuries from God and His Church, and to act in the spirit of Christ, Who prayed for His murderers, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'"

In January, A.D. 399, he preached on the festival of Theodosius, probably Jan. 17, four years after his death. The preacher showed his independence by proposing

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that great Emperor as a model for his son Arcadius,[8] in the following words :—

"We are debtors to the blessed Theodosius, not because he was an Emperor, but because he was a good man ; we are debtors to him, not because he wore the purple, but because he was clothed with Christ, and with the panoply of spiritual arms—the breastplate of righteousness, and was shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace (Eph. vi. 15), and wore the helmet of salvation, and wielded the sword of the Spirit.

"With these weapons he routed two tyrants—Maximus and Eugenius—the one without toil or bloodshed ; the other by his prowess and his prayers.[9] When the two armies had engaged, and his own troops were flying before the enemy, he leapt from his horse, and laid his shield down on the ground, and knelt on his knees and prayed to God for help. The plain became a church ; his weapons were tears and prayers. Then a tempest arose ; the winds blew furiously, and flung the weapons of the enemy back upon themselves ; some of their troops, who had breathed out fire and slaughter against him, turned round and hailed him Emperor, and delivered their leader bound into his hands. Thus Theodosius was glorified, not only by his victory, but by the manner of it. He conquered by faith. Do not therefore suppose that he is dead ; no, he is not dead, but sleepeth. For Christ says, 'He that believeth on Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live ; and he that liveth and believeth on Me shall never die' (John xi. 25, 26)."

The Empress Eudoxia was zealous in promoting the Catholic cause against Arianism, and helped the Archbishop of Constantinople to check its progress

[8] Tom. xii. 350 ; xiii. 235.

[9] See above, vol. iii. pp. 62, 63.

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by means similar to those which had been adopted at Milan by Ambrose—the singing of hymns[1] written for the purpose of instructing the people in the true faith.

Under the auspices of the Empress, Processions were formed, which traversed the streets at midnight, bearing silver Crosses and wax tapers, and excited the devotion of the people.[2]

We shall see that Chrysostom contended nobly—like his great predecessor Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople—for the Catholic Faith against Arianism; especially in his struggle, which will hereafter be related, against Gainas.

He also was strenuous in his efforts against the stern sectarianism of the Novatians;[3] indeed, in his eager desire for the conversion of those who were living in sin, he incurred the charge of running into the contrary extreme by such bold utterances as these: "Thou hast sinned ten thousand times. Come to me, and I will absolve thee." "No one (he says) is exempt from sin for a single day; but all who are truly penitent will be received by Christ, if they come to the Church" (he does not enjoin private confession) "and mourn for their sins, and give alms, and relieve the poor, and forgive their enemies, and own themselves unprofitable servants."[4] Perhaps also, though he was a zealous champion of divine Grace, and boldly asserted the absolute need of the regenerating and sanctifying gifts of the Holy Spirit, he may, in his character of a great ethical Teacher, and as an eloquent

[1] Socr. vi. 8. Soz. viii. 8. Above, vol. iii. pp. 40, 80.

[2] Socr. and Soz. ibid., where they give a history of antiphonal singing in the Church since the times of Ignatius at Antioch, who (says Socrates) learnt it in a Vision of Angels.

[3] Tom. xiii. 133; and as to his resistance to other heresies, see ibid. pp. 184—190.

[4] Tom. xii. 335.

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advocate of religious practice, have seemed sometimes to approach the verge of Pelagian exaggerations of the power of the human will. "We are virtuous or wicked, not by nature, but by our own purpose.[5] If we will, we can shake off our sin.[6] Satan cannot force us to do evil; nor will God force us to do good; He will not be served by slaves, but freely; our salvation or our destruction depends on ourselves."[7]

At the same time, he no less distinctly affirms that "we cannot resist the slightest temptation without divine help; and that we cannot do the least good without God's grace;[8] God wills all men to be saved, and gives grace freely to all;"[9] and in one of his last letters he expressed his antipathy to Pelagianism.[1]

Chrysostom did not come to Constantinople to dazzle the eyes of the people by the splendour of religious spectacles, nor to gain popular applause by rhetorical effusions, but to do a serious work of internal religious reformation.

He began with the Clergy. The enforcement on them of abstinence from the natural use of Marriage was bringing forth its fruits. Professed Virgins lived with some of them under the name of sisters; and even some Virgins had received Clergymen to dwell with them in the name of brothers. Chrysostom inveighed vehemently against these scandals,[2] and thus incurred the enmity of both.

He next addressed himself to the Widows of the Church, some of whom, while professing sanctity, led

[5] i. 83. Cp. x. 13.
[6] i. 467; iii. 264; iv. 124.
[7] i. 378; ii. 320, 729; viii. 281. Some of these passages are quoted and translated by Lardner, Credibility, ii. 618. Cp. Montfaucon, xiii. 179.
[8] iii. 35; iv. 241, 569.
[9] i. 21, 748; ii. 45; iv. 448; v. 297; viii. 333; ix. 522.
[1] iii. 577.
[2] Pallad. Vit. p. 45. Cp. Chrys. i. p. 248.

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luxurious lives. He censured them publicly, not without severe animadversions on their immodest dress, and on their attempts to conceal their age by specious artifices; and exhorted them to repent, or to marry again, and not to bring discredit on the Church.[3]

Parties were formed on both sides. Noble and opulent Widows were the leaders of the persecution which afterwards broke out against him.[4] Others, like the illustrious and saintly Olympias, who afterwards greatly comforted him by her liberality in his adversity, were no less eager in his defence.

He also practised severe economy, and introduced financial reforms in the administration of the revenues of the Episcopate, and in the domestic economy of the Episcopal palace; and devoted the surplus thence obtained to the foundation and endowment of Hospitals and Asylums for strangers.[5]

Among other necessary reforms, he did not fail to raise his voice against degenerate Monks. There were two classes of monastic brethren at Constantinople; some who were patterns of piety, and were employed by him in missionary work among the Goths and Phœnicians; others who were indolent vagabonds and mendicant impostors,[6] and led dissolute lives, and brought contempt on their profession.[7]

He would not win the favour of the people of the great City by flattery. On April 6, in the season of Lent, and in the second year of his Episcopate,[8] there was a torrent of continual rain, and an alarm of a general inundation. Penitential supplications and

[3] Pallad. Vit. Chrys. p. 47.
[4] Ibid. p. 14.
[5] Ibid. p. 46.
[6] Hom. 11 in Heb. tom. xii. pp. 117, 119.
[7] Hom. 15 in Epist. ad Heb.
[8] Tom. xiii. p. 134; tom. vi. p. 272.

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intercessory prayers were offered by him and his flock in the Church of the Apostles. When Good Friday came, there was a grand race in the Hippodrome; and on Easter Even the Theatres were open, and on those days the Church was comparatively empty. Chrysostom preached on Easter Day to the people, who had come to the Church from the spectacles of the preceding days.

"Is this to be borne patiently?" he exclaimed. "I appeal to you in the words of Almighty God to the Hebrew nation, 'O my people, what have I done unto thee? and wherein have I wearied thee?' (Micah vi. 3.) 'What iniquity have your fathers found in Me, that they have gone far from me?' (Jer. ii. 5.) Is this, I say, to be borne? After so much teaching in successive sermons, some of you have left us for the hippodrome, others have gone to revel in bacchanalian orgies, and here I sit down and mourn. Thou hast shown no reverence for that holy day, in which the symbols of our salvation are consummated. Even on Good Friday, when thy Lord was being crucified, and Paradise was opened, and the curse abolished, and sin effaced, and the ancient war of ages was ended, and God was reconciled to man; aye, on that very day when men ought to fast and confess their sins, and join in prayer, and thanksgiving for the blessings poured out upon the world, then it was that thou didst leave the Church, and the spiritual sacrifice, and the assembly of thy brethren; then it was that thou wert led captive by the devil to those worldly spectacles. Is this, I repeat, to be borne? How can we hope to appease the wrath of God? For three days we had a deluge of rain, sweeping everything before it, and snatching the food from the mouths of the farmers, and laying

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prostrate their ripe crops; and then Litanies went up to heaven, and all the population streamed like a winter's torrent to the Church of the Apostles. And yet, after the short interval of a day, thou didst allow thy soul to be carried away captive by vicious passions; and not content with the phrenzy of the Circus, thou didst rush on the next day (being Easter Even) to the Theatre; running from the smoke into the fire. Old men disgraced their hoar hairs; young men cast their youth headlong down a precipice; fathers led their own sons to those gulfs of iniquity."

Chrysostom then describes the licentious scenes and spectacles of the Theatre at Constantinople, especially the impure songs and lascivious dances and gestures of the harlot actresses.

"Can any one walk on coals," he exclaims, "and not be burnt? Can any one take fire into his bosom, and not scorch his clothes? (Prov. vi. 26, 27.) So is he who goeth after a strange woman. You have committed adultery in your heart. In your impure thoughts you have brought an adulteress into the company of your own wife. From such things as these come divorces and confusions in families; weariness of your own wives and children and servants, and of your home. Yes, in your thoughts you have had a harlot in your house. And how with these lustful thoughts can you enter the Church and touch that holy table? While I am thus speaking, I see some of you beating your foreheads, and I thank you for this sign of your sorrow, and of your sympathy with the wounds of your brethren.

"But you must do more than this. Do not tell me that only a few of them are lost.

"Did not the Good Shepherd leave the ninety and

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nine in the wilderness to seek the one? Think of the worth of each single soul. Each single soul is precious in the sight of God and of Christ. For its sake God made the world; and furnished it, and gave Laws to it, and worked many miracles. For its sake He spared not His only-begotten Son. For every soul Christ shed His blood. Think what a price was paid for each, and haste and spare no pains to bring that one lost soul back to the fold.

"But if you are remiss, I at least must be zealous; and I will use the power which God has given us for edification, and not for destruction. If any one after this warning falls away to the theatrical pestilence, I will not administer to him the holy mysteries, or suffer him to approach that holy table. I will separate him as a diseased sheep from the flock. I have tried gentler means. A year has passed away since I first came to this City, and I have never ceased to exhort you on this matter. But remember, though we have power both to bind and to loose, I do not desire to cut off our brethren from the Church, but I do desire to wipe off this reproach from it. Jews and Gentiles now scoff at us for winking at sins. But when we have corrected them, they will admire the Church, and revere her laws." He then quotes St. Paul's words in 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15; and adds, "As for myself, I must mourn till this is done, although I may be irksome to you, in order that I may be able to stand before the dreadful Tribunal of the Judge. Would to God, therefore, that the diseased may return to us, and that they who are whole may be strengthened, and that ye may attain eternal salvation, and that we may rejoice together, and God be glorified, now and for evermore. Amen."

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But Chrysostom had other difficulties to encounter, which demanded all his courage.

The despotic but servile Court of Constantinople trembled before the leaders of the Goths, who under the Emperor Valens had first been suppliants, then became colonists of the Empire, and afterwards were its conquerors at Adrianople.[9] Alaric, first a soldier under Theodosius, then a generalissimo under Arcadius, spread consternation in the East and West by the desolation of Greece and capture of Rome. And some few years before that time, the capital of the East was menaced by the rebel Tribigild, to whom it sacrificed the chamberlain Eutropius, and his more formidable ally Gainas.

Arcadius in A.D. 400 preserved his throne by an obsequious surrender to the demands of Gainas, who was made Master-General of the Roman armies, and filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed honours among his dependants with imperial authority.[1]

Gainas imagined that the Archbishop would yield to him with the same easy pliancy as the Emperor of the East had done. But he found that Chrysostom was not an Arcadius, but an Ambrose.[2] Gainas asked that a Church of Constantinople should be surrendered to him and his Arian followers. He pleaded his services to the Crown, and claimed a recognition of them. But Chrysostom told him plainly that he had received an ample recompense, and

[9] Above, vol. ii. pp. 270—273.

[1] Socr. vi. 4—6. Soz. viii. 4. Theodoret, v. 32, 33. Zosim. v. 18. Gibbon, chap. xxxii.

[2] On Ambrose's refusal to give up a Church of Milan to the Arians, see above, vol. iii. pp. 35—38.

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that acts of allegiance to the Throne could not be rewarded by profanation of the Church. He implored Arcadius, as defender of the faith, and as son of Theodosius, who had withstood heresy, not to betray his trust; and he added, "I will never consent that they who glorify Christ as God shall be driven from a Church to make room for those who blaspheme Him."

Gainas soon revealed himself in his true light; he broke out into open rebellion, and was slain by Uldin,[3] King of the Huns, who allowed Arcadius to celebrate the triumph which he himself had won.

But Chrysostom was not content with endeavouring to check the Arian heresy of the Goths; he earnestly desired to win the Goths themselves to the true faith. He sent Missionaries to them;[4] and encouraged those who were orthodox among them to join with him in the services of the Church. In the Church of St. Paul at Constantinople some Goths were invited by him to read the Lessons and to preach, and he thence took occasion to address the people in the language of eloquent congratulation on the spread of the Gospel.[5] "The Wise men," he said, "were brought by a star from the East to the cradle of Christ, and offered frankincense to Him as God, gold to Him as King, and myrrh to Him as Man, by which they foretold His death and burial. And now Scythians, Thracians, Sarmatians, Moors, and Indians have embraced Christianity; the Scriptures have been translated into their tongues, and the Church of Christ

[3] Zosim. v. 22.

[4] Theodoret, v. 30, who also describes the work of Chrysostom's missionaries, who evangelized Phœnicia, and converted many from idolatry.

[5] See Chrys. Homil. 8 in tom. xii. pp. 371, 372, 379.

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has extended her arms to the distant shores of the Ocean, and has enclosed the British Isles in the net of the Gospel."

The country Villages in the province of Constantinople were ill provided with Churches and Preachers.[6] Chrysostom extended his care from the City to them, and appealed to Capitalists and landed Proprietors to provide Churches and Pastors on their estates. One of his Sermons at Constantinople deals with this subject,[7] and may serve as a specimen of an appeal for building Churches and Chapels in the fourth century, and will be read with pleasure in the nineteenth. It supplies interesting information as to the manner in which Churches arose throughout Christendom—not by public subsidies, as heathen temples,[8] but by the Christian liberality of the Nobility and Gentry as Landlords.

Taking for his text Acts viii. 25, "And they, when they had testified and preached the Word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the Gospel in many villages of the Samaritans," he says, "We, too, my brethren, ought to go forth on such journeys as these; and why do I speak of journeys? Many are Proprietors of whole villages and hamlets, and yet take no thought concerning them. The erection of Baths upon their estates, the improvement of their rents, the construction of Mansions, and other buildings, upon their demesnes, these are the objects which engross their care; but the culture of souls employs it not. My friend, if you behold your land beset with thorns, you root them up and burn them. Them you

[6] See Bingham, xiv. 4. 9, and the passages quoted from Chrysostom by him.

[7] Hom. on Acts viii. 25, tom. ix. 149.

[8] Horat. 2 Od. xv. 18, 19, 20; 3 Od. vi. 2.

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destroy to rid your soil of the evil; but when you behold the souls of your labourers beset with thorns, and yet do not eradicate them, tell me, do you not tremble at the thought of your own Landlord, Jesus Christ, Who will hereafter demand an account of them at your hands?

"Tell me, Is it not the duty of believers to build Churches, to endow them for the maintenance of a Pastor, to help one another, and to labour above all, that every man may belong to Christ? And how can your labourers become Christ's, if they see you to be careless of their salvation? You cannot work miracles, and so convert them to Christ. Convert them, then, by the means in your power. Convert them by your charity. Convert them by your watchfulness over them, by mildness, by reproof, by all other means you can.

"Men will build Markets and Baths, but not Churches; indeed they will erect anything rather than Churches. Wherefore I exhort, I entreat, I supplicate; nay, rather, I promulgate a law, that no one should be seen possessing an Estate without a Church. Maintain a Pastor, maintain a Deacon, and a sacred choir; love your Church as a bride, or as a betrothed, or as a daughter given in marriage; bestow a dowry upon it: so your Estate will overflow with blessings.

"What benefits will not be there? Say, is it a small thing that your wine-vats will be blessed? Is it a small thing that God will be the first to partake of all the produce of your land, and receive the firstfruits of your substance? This will conduce to the peace of your labourers; your Pastor will be revered: this will contribute to the security of your Estate. In your

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Church will be perpetual orisons; through your means there will be hymns and eucharists, and the holy oblation every Sunday. What a glorious monument will this be! Let others build splendid tombs for themselves, that they may be famous after their death, but let your monument be a Church.

"Consider also, I pray you, this, that you who have erected a sanctuary of God, will enjoy your reward upon earth even till the Coming of Christ.

"If an earthly Prince had commanded you to erect a house that he might lodge there, would you not have done it? But the fabric of a Church is the royal Palace of Christ. Think not of the cost, but consider the gain. Your labourers cultivate your soil: do you in return cultivate their souls. They bring corn into your garner: do you lead them up to heaven. He, who is the first to begin a good work, is the author of all its fruits. Thus all who are catechized in your Church and in the neighbouring hamlets will owe it to you. Though Baths render our labourers more effeminate, though Taverns make them more licentious, yet, for display, men build these upon their estates. The wake and the fair teach them immodesty. But a Church produces the reverse of this. How beautiful it is to see a peasant stricken in years, with grey hairs, walking in the likeness of Abraham, with his loins girt, labouring with his hands in the works of husbandry! What is more beautiful than such an Estate as this? Here virtue blooms, hence riot flies; here neither intemperance nor debauchery is found; they are banished far away. Here is no vainglory. Goodwill shines more brightly here through the simplicity of rural manners. What a blessed thing it is to go in and out of a House of

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God, and to know that you have built it; to recline on your couch, and after your bodily recreation to repair to evening and morning Prayer; to have the Priest with you at your table, to converse with him, to receive his benediction, and to behold others resorting to the Church. This is the fortress, this the safeguard of your Estate; this is the field concerning which the Patriarch said, 'The smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed.'[9]

"Again: if the country is delightful for its quiet, and for its freedom from cares, even without such blessings as these; how lovely will it be when it enjoys them! Possessing a Church, it becomes like the Paradise of God. There is no clamour, no confusion, no enmity, no heresy. All are friends, all united in the same doctrines. Its tranquillity leads you to divine philosophy, and from that philosophy the Priest will lead you further, and will gently administer spiritual medicine to your soul. Here, in the city, whatever we preach in the Church the Market drives from the minds of our hearers; but there, whatever you hear in God's house will remain fixed in your mind. By means of the Preacher you will become a different man from what you are here; he will be the protector of your labourers, he will guard them by his presence and by his discipline.

"To speak again of blessings. It is a happy thing for you, that the Priest resorts to the Church, with all quietness, to present himself to God, and to offer prayers for the village day by day, and for you the owner of it. Say, is it a small thing that your name is recorded for ever in the sacred commemorations, and that daily supplications are made for the hamlet

[9] Gen. xxvii. 27.

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to God? How profitable is this in other respects! You have poor neighbours, and they may have guardians; but none of these may think the poor man worthy to come to you; but he will, perhaps, invite the Priest to his table (who will plead with you for the poor). Your village will be free from evil suspicions; no one will accuse, or even suspect it of homicides or of thefts; the villagers will also enjoy consolation in sickness and in death; their friendships and visits to each other will not be like those of the world; their social meetings will be more joyful than those at wakes and fairs: they themselves, and even their magistrates, will become more revered by means of their pastor. You know that Jerusalem of old was more honoured than all other cities, not for itself, but for its piety; for where God is revered, there no evil is; but where He is not revered, there is nothing good. You will thus be safe, both with God and man.

"Therefore, I exhort you, be not remiss, but undertake the work, not negligently, but zealously. If he who brings what is precious out of what is vile,[1] is as the mouth of God, how many divine favours will he enjoy, who benefits and retrieves so many souls, both present and to come, even till the Advent of Christ? Build therefore a fortress against the devil; such is a Church. Thence let your labourers go forth to their work; let them first lift up their hands to God in prayer, and then let them repair to their labour. Thus will they be blessed with strength of body; thus will their husbandry be fruitful, and all evil will be far away. Until you have felt this in

[1] Jer. xv. 19, from the Septuagint Version.

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reality, I cannot place before you in words the pleasure you will thence derive.

"Think not then of the work as if it brought no profit; if you thus think of it, engage not in it: nay, if you think not of it as bringing you *more* profit than all the rest of your estate, enter not upon it. Commence it not, if you do not believe that it will conduce more to your safety than all other means. But, indeed, what harvest can be compared with the bringing of the souls of men to the threshing-floor of heaven? Alas, alas! that you should not know what wealth it is, to gain souls. Hear what Christ says to Peter, 'If thou lovest Me, feed My sheep.' If you had seen the sheep or horses of a king without fold or stable, and exposed to danger, and had yourself built for them a fold and stable, and set one over them to tend them, would not the king have requited you? But now, when you enfold the flock of Christ, and set a shepherd over His sheep, do you fear that you will not receive a great reward? What do I say? If he who offends one of Christ's little ones is threatened with severe punishment (Matt. xviii. 6), shall he be lost who saves many? Of what sin will he be afterwards guilty? and if he commits sin, the Lord blots it out.[2] Learn the reward of him who preserves, by the punishment of him who offends. If the salvation of a single soul were not an object of the tenderest solicitude to God, its destruction would never have provoked Him to such fierce anger.

[2] The reading is ἢ κἂν ἔχοι (ἁμαρτίαν) οὐκ ἐξαλείφει αὐτήν; which is translated in the Benedictine version "nonne peccatum delebit illud?" The reading of the passage is doubtful; perhaps it should be κἂν ἔχῃ, ΟΚΣ (i.e. Ὁ Κύριος) ἐξαλείφει αὐτήν, and I have so rendered it. Cp. Esai. xliii. 25, Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ΕΞΑΛΕΙΦΩΝ τὰς ἀνομίας καὶ τὰς ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ σου. Esai. xliv. 22. Ps. li. 9. Acts iii. 19. Jer. xviii. 23, Σὺ ΚΥΡΙΕ τὰς ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ αὐτῶν μὴ ΕΞΑΛΕΙΨΗΙΣ.

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"Therefore, dear friends, let us engage in this spiritual work; and let every one who enters upon it invite me to join him, and I will co-operate with him. And in cases where there are three proprietors, let them do it by joint contributions; and where there is one proprietor only, he will excite all his neighbours to imitate him. Only be zealous, I exhort you, to speed this work, that pleasing God in all things we may come to His eternal joys, through the grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, with Whom to the Father and the Holy Ghost be all glory, power, and honour, now and for ever, to all generations. Amen."

After this sermon on Churches, let us turn to the divine Worship celebrated in them.

The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, as it is now commonly called, is that generally used throughout the year in the East.[3] But it is doubtful whether it can be, even in part, ascribed to him. It appears to be grounded on that of S. Basil. There are many passages in Chrysostom's works which describe the order of the public service of the Church,[4] but as these are derived from writings composed before he came to Constantinople, they can hardly be accepted as representing the use of that Church.

Chrysostom extended his Episcopal care from the Bosphorus to Ephesus and Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His precedence in *dignity* next to the Bishop of Rome had been settled in A.D. 381 by the Council of Constantinople (can. 3). But the extent of his *jurisdiction* was not so clearly defined. The political pre-eminence of Constantinople gave a spiritual

[3] On this Liturgy, see the authorities quoted above, vol. ii. p. 278, and Mr. C. E. Hammond's Liturgies, Oxford, 1878, pp. xlvii—xlix, 82—131, and Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, p. 77.

[4] They are collected by Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 183.

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influence[5] to its Patriarch, which was not very acceptable to the Primates of more ancient Sees, and to the Metropolitans of more ancient Provinces;[6] and it was not established by any Canon of the Church before the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451.

At the close of A.D. 400, Chrysostom held a Visitation at Ephesus, leaving his flock at Constantinople under the charge of a celebrated preacher, Severian, Bishop of Gabala, and of an Archdeacon, Serapion, in whom he had great confidence. Serapion was obnoxious to Severian, whom he charged with the design of supplanting the absent Archbishop; and by his violent conduct and intemperate language against clergy and laity, he exasperated them against himself and against Chrysostom.[7]

Chrysostom summoned Antoninus, the Bishop of Ephesus, before him, on a charge of simony; he and some Bishops with him were condemned and deposed for simoniacal practices.

On the death of Antoninus, Chrysostom consecrated a Bishop for Ephesus, and also in the place of some other Bishops whom he deposed[8]—about thirteen in number.

These vigorous measures of Church discipline excited rancorous irritation against him, which strengthened the hands of his enemies.

A storm was now gathering. I will not tax the patience of the reader with minute details[9] of the petty

[5] Cp. Theodoret, v. 28, who says that Chrysostom exercised authority not only over Thrace, which contained six provinces, but over Asia and Pontus, each of which had eleven.

[6] See Bingham, ii. 17. 10; Gieseler, Church Hist. § 93.

[7] Socr. vi. 11. Soz. viii. 9, 10.

[8] Socr. vi. 15.

[9] They may be seen in the authors quoted above. See also Fleury, Ch. Hist. xxi. 1, 2, 3, 11.

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and paltry jealousy and vindictive acrimony of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who took the lead in the persecution against Chrysostom. These personal quarrels hardly belong to Church history, for which they have little significance, except as showing, what is unhappily too notorious, that persons in high places in the Church may sometimes be swayed and enslaved by evil passions, which the Gospel of Christ, Whose Ministers they are, teaches to control and subdue.

A brief summary may suffice. The name and tenets of Origen—which have already come before us as shibboleths of party warfare—were made the occasions of strife. Four monks of Nitria, who were called from their stature the "tall brothers," were charged by Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, with Origenistic heresies, and fled, with fifty others, first to Palestine, and thence to Constantinople, where they were hospitably entertained by Chrysostom, but not admitted to communion by him, and where they hoped for protection against the persecution which had been stirred up against them in their own country.

Theophilus was enraged with this reception of the fugitives; and stimulated Epiphanius, the venerable Bishop of Cyprus,[1] to join in his opposition to Chrysostom, on the plea of imperilled orthodoxy, for which he was very zealous. Epiphanius was induced to undertake a voyage to Constantinople, where the Archbishop treated him with due respect, but could not obtain any reciprocal recognition on his part. In course of time, however, Epiphanius, having received a satisfactory explanation from "the four brothers,"

[1] Sozomen, viii. 14, 15.

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left Constantinople, and died on his voyage homeward nearly a hundred years old, in A.D. 401.

The "four brothers" appealed to the Emperor Arcadius, who summoned Theophilus to Constantinople. But instead of accepting the attitude of one who is accused, he assumed that of an accuser. Attended with many Bishops from Egypt, and being supported by the Empress Eudoxia, who had been alienated from the Archbishop,[2] and by Severian, Chrysostom's treacherous deputy, and by some criminous clerks whom Chrysostom had deprived, Theophilus cited the Archbishop to appear before a Synod held at a place called *The Oak*, near Chalcedon, on the Eastern side of the Bosphorus.

A series of charges was exhibited against him, twenty-nine in number;[3] and though the impeachment of Chrysostom for favouring the Origenistic heresies was ostensibly the cause of the convention, yet in the arraignment against him no mention was made of that accusation.

The Synod consisted of forty-five Bishops (some authorities say only thirty-six), of whom twenty-nine were from Egypt. Among them was Severian of Gabala, Acacius of Berœa, Antiochus of Ptolemais, Cyrenius of Chalcedon, friends of Theophilus, and enemies of Chrysostom.

The charges are too frivolous to be specified. They referred principally to alleged habits of personal haughtiness, such as dining alone[4] (25), having a

[2] The reasons for this estrangement of Eudoxia from Chrysostom are given in different terms by different writers. Socr. vi. 15. Sozomen, viii. 16. It appears that notes were taken of his Sermons, and were carried to the Empress, and were interpreted into personal reflections on herself.

[3] In Photius, Cod. lix. Socr. vi. 15.

[4] His biographer Palladius (tom. xiii. p. 40) thinks it right to vindi-

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specially reserved bath (23), or of violence and impatience (1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 19, 20, 21, 27), or malversation of Episcopal or Ecclesiastical property (3, 4, 16, 17), or of ritual irregularities (10, 13, 14, 24, 28).[5]

On the other side Chrysostom was supported by forty Bishops.[6] He declined to appear before the Synod, and protested against its authority. It was not, he said, fit that a Bishop like Theophilus, who resided in Egypt,[7] and who himself was accused, should come and sit in judgment on the Archbishop of Constantinople.

The Synod proceeded to examine the twenty-nine charges, and dismissed twenty-five of them as frivolous or not proved, but admitted eleven others. One concerned Epiphanius, and the favour shown by Chrysostom, notwithstanding his remonstrance, to the Origenizing monks of Egypt. Others cited some of Chrysostom's enthusiastic utterances ;[8] others referred

cate Chrysostom from such charges as these. His infirm health (he says) needed a peculiar diet; he could only drink a little wine, and that of a particular quality; he was often too much occupied to eat before sunset. He wished to economize his Episcopal revenues for the sake of the poor. He shrank from the levity and clatter of great dinner-parties, and from causing offence by invitations partially given or received. Such are the apologies offered for Chrysostom.

Our English Primate at the close of the seventeenth century, Tillotson, regarded dinner-parties and public entertainments as part of his own moral discipline, and as necessary incidents of his station. The Archbishop's reflections on the "penalty of being contented, for the sake of the public, to deny himself so much as to sit down every day to a feast, and to eat continually in a crowd," are as wise as they are charitable. See Birch's Life of Tillotson, pp. 258—263, London, 1753.

[5] On these accusations, see the explanatory comments of Neander, Life of Chrysostom, ii. 152—160.

[6] Pallad. c. 8.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *ἐρῶ, μαίνομαι.* "If thou sinnest ten thousand times, come and be healed." Cp. Socr. vi. 21. See above, p. 150, and p. 155.

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to his unlawful assumption of jurisdiction at Ephesus, and to his arbitrary deposition of Bishops.

After twelve sessions the Synod made a report to the Emperor, in which they stated that the Archbishop had been deposed by them, and also that he was guilty of sedition; that he had called the Empress a Jezebel; and they prayed the Emperor that Chrysostom might be banished by the secular authority for high treason.[9]

Accordingly the Archbishop was conveyed to Prænetum, near Nicomedia, in Bithynia. Chrysostom thanked God, and said, "The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away; Blessed be the name of the Lord."[1] The people of Constantinople rose in insurrection, and clamoured for his return.[2] An Earthquake added to the consternation of the palace. The Empress Eudoxia, who had stirred up the persecution against him, now prayed Arcadius that he might be recalled, and sent a special messenger to implore him to return.[3] He did so amid the plaudits of the City. His accuser, Theophilus, embarked at midnight, and set sail for Alexandria.

But the cloud returned after rain. A silver statue of the Empress was erected on a column of porphyry near the Church of S. Sophia, and was dedicated under the auspices of the prefect of the city—a Manichæan —with wild exultations and frantic dances, and licentious revelry, and, it seems, with Pagan adoration.[4] Chrysostom gave vent to his feelings in his sermons, which were represented to Eudoxia as libellous anim-

[9] Pallad. c. 8.
[1] iii. 424, 429, 431.
[2] Socr. vi. 13. Sozomen, viii. 15.
[3] Theodoret, v. 34. Chrys. iii. 429.
[4] Neander, Life of Chrysostom, ii. 176.

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adversions on herself. When he heard of the exasperation caused by these reports, and of the menaces they evoked from her, he is said [5] to have exclaimed in public, "Again Herodias rages; again she dances, and asks for the head of John in a charger." [6] He was also censured in another Synod, A.D. 404, as having infringed the twelfth Canon of Antioch—which had been enacted by an Arianizing Council against Athanasius.[7] He was condemned and banished a second time; and the See was declared to be vacant; and Arsacius, eighty years of age, brother of Chrysostom's predecessor Nectarius, was elevated to it.[8] After a year he died, Nov. 11, A.D. 405, and was succeeded by Atticus, A.D. 406.

Chrysostom was conveyed to Cucuzus on Mount Taurus in Lesser Armenia, on the confines of Cilicia; and after seventy days' journey arrived at the place of his destination in the autumn of A.D. 404. Here he was courteously entertained by Adelphius the Bishop; and there he continued for a year; he comforted himself with religious meditation and prayer, and study of the Scriptures, and with affectionate intercourse by letter with his faithful friend Olympias, bound more closely to himself by adversity. He consoled her and himself by writing two treatises: "No one can be hurt by any one but by himself," [9] and "To those who are scandalized by persecution." [1]

[5] By Socr. vi. 18. Soz. viii. 20.

[6] The sermon which begins with these words is rejected as spurious by Montfaucon, xiii. 151, and by Tillemont, xi. 603. The Archbishop knew the Gospels better, than to confound the mother with the daughter, and to represent Herodias as dancing before Herod.

[7] Above, vol. ii. p. 81.

[8] Socr. vi. 19. Soz. viii. 23. Pallad. c. 10.

[9] iii. 444.

[1] iii. 465.

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"There is only one thing, O Olympias (he says in one of his letters to her[2]), to be feared in this world, namely, Sin. Nothing else is terrible. Nothing else can affect *that life*—which is the only true life—life eternal. And therefore St. Paul sums up all with saying, 'The things that are seen are temporal; the things that are not seen are eternal' (2 Cor. iv. 18)."

By his cheerfulness in banishment, Chrysostom proved the living power of the Gospel which he had preached; and gave practical evidence of the truth of Christianity, as contrasted with the Philosophy and Literature of Paganism, which had vented themselves in such querulous elegiac dirges as were composed by the Roman Poet, Ovid, banished to the same country, and in such piteous wailings as those of the Stoic, Seneca, in his solitary exile in Corsica.

He thought more of others than himself. He sent alms to the poor, and ransomed many captives from among the Isaurians, and stimulated Missions in Phœnicia, Cilicia, Persia, and to the Goths.[3] Writing to Olympias,[4] he refers to the death of "the great Bishop Unilas, whom he had consecrated for Gothia," and says that the King of the Goths had written to him to request that another Bishop might be sent in his place.

During this banishment he wrote a letter to a monk Cæsarius[5] against the heresy of the Apollinarians.

[2] Epist. 1. [3] Cp. Neander, Life, ii. 208. [4] Epist. 14.

[5] This Epistle was published by M. Bigot, Paris, 1680, and reprinted in England by Dr. William Wake (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of Canterbury), London, 1686. See p. 146 as to the genuineness of it. Cardinal Newman, in his edition of the Rev. William Palmer's "Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church" (Lond. 1882), p. 89, says that it "is ascribed to Chrysostom on the authority of S. John Damascene, Anastasius, and Nicephorus," but that it is rejected by "Le Quien and Montfaucon, men of critical minds, which the ancients were not."

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In that Epistle are the following words, which show, that while Chrysostom recognized a real spiritual presence in the Holy Eucharist, he did not hold the doctrine of the Transubstantiation of the elements:—

"In the Eucharist,[6] before the Bread is consecrated, we call it *Bread;* but when the grace of God has consecrated it by the Priest, it is no longer called Bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's Body, although the Nature of Bread still remains in it."

The same doctrine was taught by Chrysostom's friend Theodoret,[7] arguing against the Eutychian heresy. "In the Holy Eucharist, after Consecration of the elements, we receive the Body and Blood of Christ; but yet, after the Consecration, the mystic symbols do not lose their real nature; they remain in their former substance, and figure and form, and are visible and tangible as they were before; but we believe them to be what they have become by Consecration. But the symbol is not only called Body, but also Bread of Life."[8]

Chrysostom represented to Innocent, Bishop of Rome, the condition of the Church of Constantinople and his own. Many letters passed between them. Innocent sent two letters to Theophilus of Alexandria, in which he strongly censured his proceedings, and invited him to a Council. He also replied to Chrysostom in A.D. 404, and exhorted him to endure his afflictions with patience; and in the following year he wrote to console the Clergy and people of Constanti-

[6] P. 137, ed. Wake.

[7] Theodoret, Eranistes, tom. iv. Dialog. ii. Inconfusus, p. 126, ed. Schulze, Hal. 1722. Cp. Gelasius, below, chap. xxi.

[8] Cp. Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii., p. 163, note.

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nople. He disapproved the appointment of a successor to Chrysostom; and appealed to the Western Emperor, Honorius, in his favour; and in A.D. 406 wrote to Arcadius on his behalf; and lastly, in A.D. 407, he wrote to Chrysostom another consolatory letter, exhorting him to Christian resignation.[9] But no effective movement was made by the Bishop of Rome or by the Western Emperor to procure Chrysostom's restoration to the See of Constantinople.

If an Appeal to Rome could ever be justified, and ought to have been successful, it was certainly in the case of Chrysostom.[1] But the Bishop of Rome did not then suppose that he possessed any jurisdiction in such a matter, and the Eastern Church ignored his right to interfere. Chrysostom's name was erased from the diptychs of the Eastern Churches; and was absent from them till A.D. 420 at Constantinople, and later at Alexandria. Rome, while she retained it in her own, was not able to restore it to them.

On Friday, Sept. 30, A.D. 404, a terrible hailstorm burst over Constantinople; and on the Thursday following the Empress Eudoxia died,[2] after a premature deliverance of a still-born child. Cyrinus, Bishop of Chalcedon, one of the ringleaders in Chrysostom's persecution, died also. Other calamities occurred, which, according to Sozomen and Palladius,[3] were interpreted as signs of the divine displeasure against his enemies. But they did not relent; they obtained a rescript from Arcadius that he might be relegated

[9] Sozomen, viii. 26. The other letters of Innocent are contained in the life of Palladius, and in the collections of Coustant and Mansi. See Jaffè, Regesta Pontificum, pp. 23, 24, ed. Berolin. 1851.

[1] Cp. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, Works, vol. vi. p. 428.

[2] Socr. vi. 19; viii. 27.

[3] Sozom. viii. 27, pp. 62, 88.

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to a greater distance from Constantinople, and he was ordered to be conveyed, by a three months' journey, to Pityus on the Black Sea. But he did not reach the place of his destination. When he had arrived at Comana[4] in Pontus, at the foot of the Antitaurus, he was so much exhausted by the glaring and scorching sun, and by the fatigues of the journey, that he could proceed no further, and was carried to the oratory of S. Basiliscus, who had been Bishop of Comana, and suffered martyrdom under Maximin. He requested that he might be attired in white raiment; he then received the Holy Communion, and offered up prayers, which he closed with the words, "Glory to God for all things. Amen;" and so fell asleep in Christ, Sept. 14, A.D. 407, in the fifty-second year and eighth month of his age, the third year and third month of his banishment, and nine years, six months, and sixteen days after his consecration to the See of Constantinople.

Chrysostom's name never ceased to be held in reverence by the Western Church; but it was not till A.D. 415 that it was restored to any of the diptychs of the East. This was done by Alexander, Bishop of Antioch, who healed the schism[5] in his own Episcopal city, and who thus conferred a benefit on both the Churches—Antioch and Constantinople—which had been associated with the history of Chrysostom.

In the year 437, Proclus, a successor of Chrysostom, persuaded the Emperor, Theodosius the Younger, son of Arcadius, to order the mortal remains of the great Archbishop to be brought from Comana to Constantinople.[6] They reached the city on Jan. 27,

[4] Now Gumenek. [5] Theodoret, v. 35. [6] Ibid. v. 36.

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A.D. 438, and were received with universal joy after thirty-four years from his first deposition; and the Emperor, reverently touching the bier, and lifting up his voice and eyes to heaven, breathed forth a prayer that the sins of his father and mother, Arcadius and Eudoxia, in persecuting the greatest Bishop who ever sat on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople, might be forgiven.

Different opinions were entertained in ancient times as to some points in Chrysostom's character and work; but all agreed that he stood unrivalled as an eloquent and fearless Preacher, having a heart fired with zeal and love for Christ, and for immortal souls, which He died to save; and endowed with a marvellous knowledge of Holy Scripture, and with no less marvellous ability to bring it home to the hearts of those to whom he preached, for the correction of prevalent vices, and for the improvement of all classes in Christian doctrine and practice, and for diffusing a knowledge and love of the Gospel, and of the duties which it inculcates on all persons and on families, and for promoting and perfecting the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. In these respects his example may be commended to those who are commissioned to do the work of Evangelists in an age and country like our own, when rural populations are gravitating to great towns, and when towns are assuming a paramount importance in relation to politics and religion, and when the stimulants to vice are becoming more energetic.

The two ancient Church-historians, Socrates and Sozomen, who lived at Constantinople in the next age to Chrysostom,[7] while agreeing in admiration of

[7] Socrates ends his history A.D. 439; Sozomen concludes his A.D. 423.

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his eloquence, and of his courage and sincerity, formed different estimates of his character in other respects.

Socrates, an advocate by profession, while he gives him full credit for rectitude of intention, and blameless integrity, censures him in the following words:[8]—"He was prone to asperity, on account of his rigid asceticism.[9] As one of his earliest friends used to say, he was more inclined to passion than to reverence for others; and on account of his strictness of life, he did not guard himself against contingencies, but exposed himself to attacks by his openness; he was excessively free-spoken to all; he strove in his teaching to amend the lives of all; but to those who did not know him well he seemed too arrogant.[1] And when he became a Bishop, he was haughty and severe

He intended to bring it down to A.D. 439. See his dedication to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger. Both were continuators of Eusebius.

[8] Socr. vi. 3, 4, 5, and cp. vi. 21, where he says, "I am surprised that, while he preached sobriety (*σωφροσύνην*) so much in his sermons, he practised it so little in his speech."

[9] Literally his "zeal for *σωφροσύνη*," a more general word than *soberness*.

[1] We may compare the character of Archbishop Laud, as drawn by Lord Clarendon in his "History of the Great Rebellion," i. 90; ii. 572. It might almost have been written for Chrysostom.

"He was a man of great parts and very exemplary virtues, alloyed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was—besides a hasty sharp way of expressing himself—that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners to be a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass. He had great courage and resolution; and being most assured in himself that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest ways to those ends. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider what men said, or were like to say, of him. If faults or vices were to be discovered, let the persons be who they would, that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or favour from him."

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to those below him, especially in his attempts to correct the lives of the Clergy. Hence he incurred the enmity of many. He was also exasperated against them by his deacon Serapion, who estranged many from him; and the Bishops, whom he ejected from their sees, were loud in their complaints against him. He had no companions in his meals, and never accepted invitations to dinner.[2] His weak health was pleaded as an excuse; but such things made him many enemies. He was unsparing in public censure of the vices of Princes and Nobles, who were greatly irritated against him."

Such is the language of Socrates. On the other hand, Sozomen is unqualified in his praise; which is more remarkable, because Sozomen dedicated his history to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, the son of the imperial persecutors of Chrysostom, Arcadius and Eudoxia.

Chrysostom was a great Preacher; but great Preachers do not always make the best Bishops, any more than the most eloquent advocates make the best Judges. This proposition had been exemplified in the victories and reverses of one of his greatest predecessors at Constantinople, the fervid Catholic orator Gregory Nazianzen.[3] It was soon again to be displayed in the disastrous Episcopate of one of his celebrated successors, the eloquent rationalist and heresiarch, Nestorius.[4] In some respects Chrysostom's infirmities in the Episcopate at Constantinople are traceable to his successes as a Preacher at Antioch. In his twelve years at Antioch, he was the greatest

[2] The latter habit is recorded of S. Ambrose, who however freely invited others to dinner. Paullin. Vit. Ambros. pp. 6, 8. Possid. in Vit. Aug. c. 27.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 314—329.

[4] See below, p. 191.

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Ecclesiastical Orator of Christendom. During that time he exercised a sovereign sway from the pulpit over the minds and passions of the people, who flocked to the church in crowds to hear him, crushing one another in the way, and greeting his effusions of oratory with plaudits of admiration; so that he was obliged often to remind them that sermons were not plays, and that the church was not a theatre.[5] He was in that respect like him

> "quem mirabantur Athenæ
> Torrentem, et pleni moderantem frænа theatri."[6]

At that time he was happily exempt from administrative cares. He was also under the guidance of a wise Bishop, Flavian, and was not called upon to exercise jurisdiction over others.

His oratorical autocracy at Antioch was not a good preparation for his Archiepiscopate at Constantinople. That position was hedged around by difficulties, and encompassed with pitfalls. The Emperor and Empress, despots over others, were slaves of haughty, unscrupulous favourites, and resented any correction from the moral Teacher who thought of no other lord but his heavenly Master, and of no other ends but God's glory and the salvation of souls. The nobles and ladies of the imperial Court scorned his rebukes; they had lived at ease under the mild sway of the venerable and polite Archbishop, Nectarius. Why should they be disturbed in their peaceful slumbers by the spiritual thunders of his youthful successor?

The powerful Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus, was on the watch to precipitate his fall; and those

[5] Cp. Neander, Chrysostom, pp. 119, 120, 195.
[6] Juvenal, x. 28.

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who ought to have supported him, such as Severian his deputy, and Serapion his archdeacon, hastened it, the one by his open enmity, the other by his rash advocacy. The Bishops, whom he had deposed for simony, the Clergy, Monks, and professed Virgins and Widows whom he rebuked for immodesty of dress and convicted of immorality of life, resisted him. The authority of Epiphanius, the most venerable Bishop of Christendom, was invoked against him.

He had indeed moral supports, in the love and admiration of the people, in the friendship of some grave Bishops and Clergy, and in the affectionate reverence of such holy, devout, and loving women as Olympias, and above all in the testimony of a good conscience before God. And it is by no means certain that any one, of even less fervid temperament, and more patient endurance, and more equally balanced judgment, than Chrysostom, could, if animated with the same ardent zeal for the divine glory, and for the spiritual edification of his flock, have succeeded in the difficult task which he undertook to perform.

Still we may venture to say, with profound veneration for this great man, that the history of his Episcopate teaches clearly this lesson to the Church. If his reforms had been undertaken, as Ignatius probably, and as Cyprian certainly, would have undertaken and conducted them, by deliberations in a Diocesan Synod; and if they had been accepted by the concurrent suffrages of the Clergy, and consentient voice of the Laity, they would have had a better prospect of being cordially received and successfully executed, than they could have, when promulged, as they were, by the isolated authority of the Bishop, dictating them from his Patriarchal throne.

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But after all it may be hoped, that few, who have considered the history of those times, will be disposed to concur in the verdict of some in modern days, who, weighing spiritual things in the balance of political Expediency, have disparaged the Episcopate of Chrysostom as a mistake, and have even condemned it as a failure. Such "mistakes and failures," as they are called by some, are more beneficial to the Church than the ingenious compromises of a vacillating policy, which may win ephemeral triumphs, but prepare the way for her dissolution. The worst temporary defeats of Faith are far more noble than the World's most brilliant victories.

Chrysostom's Episcopate had the merit of showing that the Church of Christ is distinct from the World, and cannot consent to be absorbed into it; but must take a position of its own, as a witness for Christ and His Word, in antagonism to the spirit of the World, though embodied and personified in the persons and powers of Princes and Courtiers, and of a time-serving and pusillanimous Prelacy.

In the great Capital of the East he declared boldly that the Church of Christ has inalienable franchises and laws, which are paramount to all earthly domination. Even by his three years' banishment these truths were made more manifest. They were displayed from East to West; from the Black Sea to the Tiber. Chrysostom was more glorious in his exile[7] at Cucuzus than he had ever been in his palace at Constantinople. And a grateful Posterity will place itself at his bier by the side of Theodosius the Younger and his sister Pulcheria, the future Empress of the East, welcoming with penitential thankfulness the mortal

[7] Soz. viii. 27.

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remains of S. John Chrysostom from the inhospitable shores of the Euxine, and consigning them with royal honours to their peaceful resting-place, among his archiepiscopal predecessors, in his Metropolitan Church on the banks of the Bosphorus.

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CHAPTER XX.

Nestorianism—S. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria—Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

IN the prophetical vision of the Apocalypse, by which the Divine Head of the Church revealed her history from His own first Advent to the Day of Doom,[1] He displayed Himself as a Conqueror, with a bow in His hand, riding on a white horse—a horse radiant as light[2]—on which He ever continues to ride even to the end;[3] and as going forth "conquering and to conquer." He Himself is ever the same, unchanged and unchangeable. But He is also there revealed as being opposed by the Enemy of the Church, shifting his position and appearance successively, in various methods of attack.

The first form of antagonism to Christ and the Church was by Persecution. This had been revealed in that prophecy concerning the Adversary, riding on a horse red like *fire*,[4] and bearing a drawn *sword* in his hand.

But Persecution served to multiply the harvest of the Church, the seed of which was the blood of her Martyrs. The Adversary therefore descended from

[1] Rev. vi. 1—17.

[2] λευκὸς, connected with *lux*—candidus. Compare Psalm xlv. 4—6; Zech. ix. 13, 14.

[3] Rev. xix. 19—22

[4] πυρρὸς, Rev. vi. 4.

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the red horse and mounted another, also opposed to the horse of light by its colour, which was black. He now appeared as a man of equity and peace; he held a Balance in his hand; but he was still the same Enemy as before, in an altered form; and a Voice was heard from the four Living Creatures (the four Gospels), which revealed his true character, and described his work, and forbade the execution of his purpose. The Balance was a specious semblance of reason and justice, assumed in order to deceive; and the consequent scarcity of true doctrine, and the comparative plenty of what is false, was expressed by the words "a measure of wheat for a denarius,[5] and three measures of barley[6] for a denarius;" and the divine Voice prohibited the execution of the evil which he desired to do: "See that thou hurt not the *oil and wine*"—that is, the means of spiritual grace.

This was the second form of hostility to the Church. The Adversary, having failed to destroy her by Persecution, endeavoured to deprave her by Heresy.

The principal forms of heresy, by which he attempted to injure her, were Arianism, Apollinarianism, and Manichæanism. These have come before us already. The words in the prophecy are remarkably appropriate to the heresy—which we are now about to consider—Nestorianism.

Nestorianism assailed the mystery of mysteries, the Incarnation of the Eternal Son of God. "Great is the Mystery of godliness, God[7] manifest in the flesh."

[5] A day's wages. Matt. xx. 2.

[6] As to *barley*, a figure of deterioration, see on Rev. vi. 6.

[7] 1 Tim. iii. 16. It is immaterial whether we read θεὸς or ὃς here: the relative ὃς (supposing it to be accepted) would refer to the word *God* in the preceding verse.

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"Behold, the Virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call His name Emmanuel, God with us,"[8] God in our nature. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us."[9] The Victory which overcomes the World is Faith[1]—not Reason. And the strength of Faith is tried by things in which Reason is weak. Supernatural Mysteries, revealed in Scripture (which can be proved by Reason to be God's Word, and therefore unerring), are "more true than plain;"[2] and heresies, by which men wrest them aside from revelation, to suit their own fancies, are found, by examination, to be "more plain than true," and fraught with great danger.

The ineffable Mystery of the Incarnation, far transcending all powers of human intelligence, was assailed by the Nestorian heresy. It endeavoured to take that Mystery out of the scales of Holy Scripture in God's hand, Who alone can weigh it, and Who had placed it there, and to put it into the "deceitful balance"[3] of human Reason,[4] and to apply to it the syllogisms of the Schools.

The question for the Church to consider was—whether the Mystery of the Incarnation was to be adored reverently as *ὑπὲρ λόγον*, i.e. *above reason*, or to be analyzed critically, as *κατὰ λόγον*, i.e. *according to reason.*

Nestorianism was an offspring of the rationalizing school of Antioch, the school of Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The former adopted a

[8] Isa. vii. 14. Matt. i. 23.
[1] 1 John v. 4, 5.
[3] Hos. xii. 7.
[9] John i. 14.
[2] Hooker, V. lii. 1.
[4] "Let us not employ" (says Augustine de Baptism. c. Donatist. ii. 6) "the deceitful balance of our own wills and opinions; but let us use the divine balance of the Holy Scriptures, and let us weigh doctrines in it, or rather let us not ourselves weigh them, but let us receive them as they are weighed out for us by the hand of God."

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servile literalism in his expositions of Holy Scripture.[5] "He disparaged," says Leontius,[6] "the glory of the Holy Scriptures, which are inspired by the Holy Ghost, and he treated them in a low and degrading style; interpreting the Psalms in a Judaizing spirit, and applying them not to Christ, but to Hezekiah or Zerubbabel. He rejected some books of the Bible, such as the Epistle of James and the other Catholic Epistles, and the two books of Chronicles and Ezra."

Theodore of Mopsuestia regarded Man as a God upon earth, and as created free in order that he might receive a full development of intelligence by the knowledge of evil, and by conquest over it; and when Adam failed of his mission, and sin had come into the world by the Fall, and a New Man was necessary to restore humanity to its place in Creation, then (according to Theodore[7]) the Eternal Word, having foreseen that Christ would by the freedom of His Will attain to a moral primacy, and become a noble example to Humanity in its conflicts with evil, associated Him in a companionship of amity with Himself[8] from the time of His Conception in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and raised Him from the dead, and exalted Him to heavenly places.

Theodore, being a strenuous asserter of the power

[5] Socr. vi. 3, *ψιλῷ τῷ γράμματι προσέχων, τὰς θεωρίας αὐτῶν ἐκτρεπόμενος.*

[6] Leontius in Galland. Bibl. Patr. xii. 686.

[7] On Theodore of Mopsuestia as a precursor of Nestorius, see the paper in the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 1, pp. 130–134. The writer of it quotes a passage where Theodore seems to say that God caused man to sin, and that death is not a consequence of sin, p. 134. In other places Theodore appears to assert that Christ merited His association with the Logos by a gradual course of virtue (see in Tillemont, xiv. 302).

[8] Cp. Dorner on the Person of Christ, Vol. i. Div. ii.

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of the human Will, underrated the need of divine Grace. In a work of which some fragments remain,[9] he spoke in contemptuous terms of S. Jerome's writings against Pelagianism; he was, in fact, a favourer of Pelagius, and a forerunner of Nestorius, who, in some respects, encouraged the Pelagian heresy.

Tarsus and Mopsuestia were not far from Antioch, and Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius were connected with it. Nestorius was born at Germanicia, to the north of that city, but was educated at Antioch, and then dwelt in a monastery near it, whence he returned to Antioch, and was ordained to the priesthood, and attracted admiration by the dignity of his deportment, the grace of his eloquence, and the austerity and holiness of his life.

When the See of Constantinople became vacant, on Dec. 24, A.D. 427, by the death of Sisinnius, Nestorius was appointed by the Emperor to the vacant throne, and was consecrated on April 10, A.D. 428.

His appointment was hailed with general satisfaction in the East and West. It was supposed by some that Constantinople would have in Nestorius a second Chrysostom. But his natural gifts, and the popularity which he gained by them, were a strong temptation to him. He relied on the fluency of his eloquence, which had charmed his Syrian audience; and in a spirit of self-conceit he was satisfied with shallow sciolism in theology, and did not care to improve his knowledge by the study of the works of authors wiser and more learned than himself.[1]

[9] See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 387; Tillemont, xiv. 303; Marius Mercator, i. p. 97; Gieseler, § 87. He is characterized by Photius (Cod. 38) as ἄχαρις καὶ ἀηδὴς, and as alien from the truth in many things (Cod. 177).

[1] Socr. vii. 29—34.

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He professed zeal for orthodoxy; and in his first sermon preached before the Emperor he said to him, "Give me the earth purified from heretics, and I will give you heaven in return. Subdue the heretics with me, and I will subdue the Persians with you." Some of the audience, says the historian,[2] were pleased; others, who judged of men by their speeches, perceived in him levity of mind, and a passionate and vain-glorious temper. And so it proved. On the fifth day after his consecration he attacked the Church of the Arians, who therefore set it on fire; and from this and other acts he gained the name of "firebrand," or rather, of "conflagration."[3] He persecuted the Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Macedonians;[4] and persuaded the Emperor to take away their churches; and soon after his consecration a severe law was enacted by Theodosius against all forms of heresy by name—except the Pelagian.[5] But his own false doctrine soon revealed itself. He was opposed to Arianism, and asserted the Godhead of the Son consubstantial with the Father; he condemned Apollinarianism, which denied that Christ had a human soul, and merged His human flesh in the Godhead; he also confessed the divinity of the Holy Ghost. But he applied the rationalizing philosophy of Theodore to the mystery of the Incarnation. He contended that the Human nature, derived from the Virgin Mary, could not be united with the Nature of God, in the divine Person of the Son of God. "I cannot (said Nestorius) worship a God Who has been born, dead, and buried.[6] A woman

[2] Socr. vii. 29. [3] πυρκαϊά. [4] Socr. vii. 31.
[5] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 5, 65, May 30, 428.
[6] Although the Catholic Fathers had used such expressions as πάθη

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could only be the mother of a man bearing the same nature as herself.[7] To say, that *God* had been *born* was paganism, and would make *Mary* a *goddess*, a mother of a god. A creature could not be said to give birth to the uncreated ; and a woman, born in time, could not bear one who is older than herself, even from Eternity." Consequently Nestorius could not bring himself to acknowledge the Blessed Virgin to be *Theotocos*, or Mother of God.

Indeed he patronized one of his presbyters, Anastasius, who said in one of his sermons, "Let no one call Mary *Theotocos* ;"[8] and he encouraged Dorotheus, who ventured to declare in his presence,[9] "If any one calls her by that name, let him be anathema."

His ignorance of theology, and his confident reliance on his own reason, were evident from the assertion in his letter to Pope Cælestine,[1] in A.D. 429, that the word *Theotocos* had not been applied to the Blessed Virgin by the Catholic Fathers; and that the Fathers at Nicæa had only said that Jesus Christ, and not the Son of God, was incarnate of the Blessed Virgin ; whereas the Nicene Creed declares that He Who is "God of God, Very God of Very God," was conceived and born of her. And the testimonies[2] of

θεοῦ, e.g. Ignat. ad Ephes. c. 1, ad Rom. c. 6 ; Athan. c. Epict. n. 10, ἐσταυρωμένον θεόν.

[7] For extracts from the Sermons of Nestorius to this effect, see Gieseler, § 88.

[8] Socr. vii. 32.

[9] Concil. Eph. i. c. 10.

[1] Ibid. c. 16.

[2] Testimonies to the use of the word *theotocos* by the Ante-Nicene and Nicene Fathers may be seen in Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 43 ; Didymus de Trin. i. 31 ; Athanas. iii. c. 14, 33 ; Dionys. Alex. ad Paul. Samosat. p. 276 ; Respons. ad Quæst. 5 ; and many others quoted by Cyril in his letter to the Princesses, Conc. Eph. i. c. 4, 9, 10 ; and Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii. p. 177 ; Gieseler, Church Hist. § 88 ; Canon Bright, Church Hist. p. 312. And see above, vol. ii. p. 168, where it is

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Ante-Nicene and Nicene Fathers were conclusive as to the use of that title, and as to his unsoundness in rejecting it. The Church historian Socrates, who wrote while Nestorius was still living,[3] states that the people of Constantinople were distracted by what he calls his "frigid loquacity."[4]

In the rationalistic system of Nestorius, disparaging the doctrine of Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the Primitive Church, we may recognize the wiles of the Enemy, as revealed in the Apocalypse, tempting man to weigh the mystery of the Incarnation, with a semblance of equity and fairness, in the scales of human Reason, instead of listening with the ear of Faith to Divine Revelation. On account of the perfect union of the two Natures—the divine and human—in the Person of Christ, Scripture ascribes to Him such sufferings as God, in His Godhead, could not suffer, but which the God-man suffered for the sake of men, whose nature He wears. Accordingly the Apostle said, "Feed the Church of *God*, which He hath purchased with His own *blood;*"[5] and again, "The Princes of this world *crucified* the *Lord of glory;*"[6] and for a like reason, because Man is joined indissolubly to God in the divine Person of Christ, Our Lord Himself, when on earth, speaks of "the *Son of Man* as being in heaven, where He was before."[7]

Instead of this Scriptural statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation, Nestorius fed his hearers with the

shown that Julian himself is a witness to the use of this title by the Ancient Church; and yet Gibbon (Hist. vol. viii. ch. xlviii. p. 285) eulogizes Nestorius for his resistance to what Gibbon calls "a rash and recent title."

[3] Socr. vii. 34.

[4] ψυχρολογία.

[5] Acts xx. 28.

[6] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[7] John vi. 62. Cp. Hooker, V. liii. 3, 4.

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husks of such teaching as this,—that the Divine Word, the Eternal Son of the Father, the Second Person of the Ever-Blessed Trinity, had condescended to enter into a *near relationship*[8] with a human *Person*, Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, and to *ally* Himself to that Person by a gracious complacency;[9] and to *attach* Himself to that Person by a *bond*[1] *of amity;* and to dwell in that Person as God dwells in a *temple;* and to clothe Himself with that Person as a man puts on a *garment;* and to use that Person as an *instrument;*[2] and that therefore a certain equality of honour[3] may be accorded to that Person. But to call the Son of Mary by a divine Name; and to call her "Mother of God,"—this, he said, would be creature-worship and idolatry; it would be to honour the robe instead of the Wearer; to revere the instrument instead of the Agent; and to adore the temple instead of God.[4]

It has been supposed with good reason, that Nestorius concurred in many respects with Pelagius;[5] and indeed, when Julian and other Pelagian Bishops were deposed in the West, and resorted to him at Constantinople, they found friendly sympathy and a cordial welcome there; and he interceded for them with Pope Cælestine. He did not agree with them in their repugnance to the doctrine of original sin; he preached against their tenets in that respect; but he was in accord with them as to divine grace, as a thing

[8] Or association, κατὰ σχέσιν, or κατὰ διάθεσιν.

[9] εὐδοκία. [1] συνάφεια. [2] ὄργανον. [3] ἰσοτιμία.

[4] See Concil. Eph. Mansi, iv. 1198; v. 762; and the first and second Sermons of Nestorius, translated by Marius Mercator.

[5] On the connexion of Nestorius with Pelagianism (which was favoured by the teaching of his master Theodore), see Cassian de Incarn. Christi adv. Nestorium, v. 1, and Gieseler, § 88.

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communicated *from without*, by precept and example, rather than as a vital energy dwelling in the heart, and sanctifying the whole man, in body, soul, and spirit.

Let us consider carefully, what was at stake. Some have regarded the question at issue as merely a question of words. Persons, who look with pity and disdain at the struggle of Athanasius, during the forty-seven years of his Episcopate, for the doctrine involved in the word *homoousios*, will doubtless dismiss at once with commiseration or superciliousness the controversy of the Church for the crucial[6] term *theotocos*, which sums up the Truth which she then strove to maintain.

But others will take a different view; and will listen reverently to the solemn tones of the divine voice speaking to the Patriarch of Constantinople in the language of stern prohibition, "See thou hurt not the oil and wine."

The "oil and wine" of divine Grace were then in great danger. Christ, the good Samaritan, had poured the oil and wine[7] of divine Grace into Universal Humanity, which the Priesthood and Law had not been able to heal, and which was lying in the road of the world, wounded and bleeding.

But Nestorianism, with its own errors superadded to Pelagian sympathies, had no such divine power,

[6] As Dr. Newman (in his note on Fleury, xxvii. 35) calls *θεοτόκος*. This word was, so to speak, the "Ithuriel's spear" (see Milton, Paradise Lost, iv. 810) which by its touch revealed the Evil One lurking in Nestorianism; as *homoousios* revealed him in Arianism; and as *κοινωνία ἰδιωμάτων* revealed him in Eutychianism, which left *no ἰδιώματα* to the two Natures, but merged them into one, after the Incarnation.

[7] Luke x. 34. In the Seven-branched Candlestick—the type of the Church (in Zech. iv. 2—11)—it is the *oil* from Christ, Who gives light to the Candlestick, and enables it to illuminate the World.

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and no such embassy of love, and no such ministry of Grace, for suffering Manhood. *If* all that the Son of God did, when He came down from heaven, was to associate Himself with a particular *person*, then whatever good might have been done to that one Person, no benefit would have accrued to universal humanity. If the Blood shed on the Cross was only the blood of a man dear to God, then it would have done no more for the redemption of the World, and for a propitiation and atonement for the sins of Mankind, and for its justification with God, than the effusion of the blood of a Peter or a Paul; and it could not be said that the Name by which Christ is to be called is the "LORD our RIGHTEOUSNESS."[8]

The infinite virtue of the Blood shed on the Cross is due to the fact, which Holy Scripture teaches, that it was the Blood of God.[9]

If, again, only a special person was raised from the dead, and ascended into heaven, being carried thither by the Divine Logos, associating that person with Himself, then it could not be said that "we have risen with Christ,"[1] and that we "have been made to sit in heavenly places with Him."[2]

If also that, which, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was assumed by the Divine Word in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin, was only a person already existing, and not the seminal essence of human Nature, which began to exist at the very moment that it was assumed, then it was *not human Nature* that was sanctified by the Incarnation, but only some particular person taken out of Mankind, by a partial eclecticism and privileged by a special prerogative.

[8] Jer. xxiii. 6.
[1] Col. ii. 12; iii. 1.
[9] Acts xx. 28.
[2] Eph. ii. 6.

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But the Truth, which Scripture declares as a fruit of the Divine Son's Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection, is that Christ "is made of God to us righteousness, and redemption, and sanctification."[3]

If, again, He who died on the Cross of Calvary had not been God as well as Man, then the Holy Sacraments, by which the virtue of His Incarnation and Passion are imparted to men, and which were symbolized by the streams of Blood and Water flowing from His pierced side at His death, could not be, as they are, the fountains and well-springs of new and heavenly life to the soul, and the divine restoratives of that Life when marred by human infirmity, and the pledges of a blessed Resurrection and a glorious Immortality by union and communion with Him, Very God and Very Man, Who is the Resurrection and the Life.[4]

[3] 1 Cor. i. 30. Cp. Hooker, V. lii.—liv. 6. These chapters of Hooker's work deserve careful study in connexion with Nestorianism.

[4] Such considerations as these, with regard to doctrine and practice, are developed by S. Cyril in his letter *On the right Faith* to the Emperor Theodosius (tom. v. part ii.), and in his treatise addressed "to the Princesses," the Emperor's sisters—Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina—tom. v. part ii. (which are well summarized by Canon Bright, Art. on Cyril, in Dict. Biog. i. 765); and see Hooker (V. lii. 3), who says, "The one point of Christian belief, the *infinite worth* of the *Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and salvation by that which Christ either did or suffered as Man in our behalf." See also Hooker, V. liv. 6, "God hath deified our nature, by making it His own inseparable habitation, and thus has given to it hopes full of immortality."

With regard to the error of Nestorius, as affecting the doctrine of the *Holy Eucharist*, Cyril says (v. pt. ii. p. 378), "Let them tell us what Body it is, which is food to the flocks of Christ, and by what streams they are refreshed. If it is the Blood of Him Who is God, then is the Son of God not only God, but the Word Incarnate. If it is the flesh of Christ which is meat, and His blood which is drink (John vi. 55); and if He is *mere man*, and if it is the flesh and blood of a

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It has been said indeed,[5] that Nestorianism had an *ethical value*, which was lacking in the theology of Cyril and the Alexandrine School, in that the former, founding itself on the freedom of man's will, and on his personal responsibility and perfectibility, suggested reasons for *moral action*, that were wanting in the system of the latter, which resolved the doctrine of the Incarnation into a mystery and a miracle of Divine Love and Power.

But here again there is a substitution of human reason for divine revelation.

Nestorianism not only destroyed the foundation of faith, but of duty. Divine revelation represents the "mystery and miracle of the Incarnation" as the strongest motive for human love and for moral action. It is the foundation of love to God the Father, "Who so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son" to die for us. It is the foundation of love to the Son of God, Who took our Nature that He might die for us, and Who laid down His life for us that we might live for ever. It is the foundation of love of man to man, as his brother and fellow-member in Christ. It is the foundation of all hope of a glorious resurrection and a blessed immortality. Union with God in Christ is the fountain and well-spring of holiness of life; it is a divine appeal from Him to man to be "holy as He is holy,"[6] and to perfect holiness in His fear.[7] "Know ye not that ye are not your own, but bought with a price,[8] even with the blood of Christ?" Your bodies are

mere man, how is it that we teach that it avails to eternal life? A mere body is not the source of life to those who receive it." See also vol. iv. p. 365.

[5] Even by Dorner, vol. i. Div. ii. p. 73.

[6] 1 Pet. i. 16.

[7] 2 Cor. vii. 1.

[8] 1 Cor. vi. 20.

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members of Christ.[9] Shall I take the member of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? Know ye not that your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost? and whosoever defileth the temple of God, him will God destroy;[1] but he that hath this "hope in Him (i.e. in Christ) purifieth himself, as He is pure."[2]

These considerations are derived from "the miracle and mystery of the Incarnation," and are applied in Holy Scripture as constraining motives to *moral practice*. And the assurance is added, that this practice is assisted by divine grace, even by the indwelling and working of the Holy Ghost, consequent on the Incarnation; and that there is thereby perfect remission of sins to the faithful. "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, *His Son*, cleanseth us from all sin."[3]

Therefore the doctrine of the Incarnation is the foundation of Christian Morals, as well as of Christian Faith and Christian Hope; and though this Mystery is inscrutable to man's Reason, yet it enables man's Reason to accept the doctrines which describe God's relations to himself, and his own duty to God. The Mystery of the Incarnation is like the mid-day Sun in the heavens; it is too dazzling for man's eye to gaze upon; but it illumines the World in which we live, and all around us would be dark without it.

It has been truly observed,[4] that the peculiar temperament and bias of the Antiochene School of exegetical and dogmatic Theology were favourable to Arianism; and it is no less true, that they were con-

[9] 1 Cor. vi. 15.
[2] 1 John iii. 3.
[4] See Newman's Arians, chap. i.
[1] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.
[3] 1 John i. 7.

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ducive to the growth and development of Nestorianism. It is remarkable also, that in both cases the poison of heresy, which was diffused from Antioch, was counteracted by an antidote from Alexandria.

Arianism was checked by Athanasius; and Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, encountered a strenuous opponent in Cyril,[5] a successor of Athanasius in the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria.

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, died on Oct. 12, 412, having occupied that see for twenty-seven years, and was succeeded, after a sharply contested election,[6] by his sister's son Cyril, who was enthroned in three days after his uncle's death.

He began his Episcopate by shutting up the churches of the Novatians. In A.D. 415 he was provoked by an attack of the Jews upon one of his presbyters, Hierax—who was seized and scourged by Orestes the Governor—and by subsequent insults on their part, to make an assault upon their synagogues, and to expel them from the city.[7]

[5] For the life of Cyril, see Tillemont, vol. xiv. pp. 267—671, and the Article on Cyril in Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography, i. pp. 763—773, which is worthy to be coupled with the Article on Athanasius by the same writer—Canon Bright—in that work. The labours of the Benedictines did not extend to S. Cyril; the best edition of his works is that of Canon John Aubert, Paris, 1658, in six volumes folio, which probably would not have been the case, if Mr. Philip E. Pusey had been spared to continue and complete his critical revision of them. The following volumes of Cyril's Works were published by him:—

Vols. I. and II., the Commentaries upon the twelve Minor Prophets.

Vols. III., IV., V., the Commentary on St. John.

Vol. VI., Libri v. contra Nestorium, Explanatio xii. Capitum, Defensiones xii. Capitum, Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti.

Vol. VII., Part i., the De Rectâ Fide Tres Tractatus, Quod Unus est Christus, Dialogus Apologeticus, and some few of the Homilies.

[6] Socr. vii. 7.

[7] Ibid. vii. 13.

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The Governor appealed to the Emperor. Cyril endeavoured in vain to appease him.[8] In the mean time about 500 monks from Nitria, who were ever ready to vindicate what they regarded as the cause of orthodoxy, by violent outrages of furious fanaticism, invaded the city, and assaulted and wounded the Governor, Orestes, who was rescued by the people, and who by their help seized one of the monks, Ammonius, who died under his tortures. The body of Ammonius was carried by Cyril to the Church, and he was lauded by him as *thaumasios*[9] (admirable), and as a martyr to the faith.

The popular riot did not stop there. The beautiful, modest, chaste, learned, and eloquent Hypatia fell a victim to it. She was the daughter of Theon the philosopher, and was distinguished by knowledge of geometry, and eclipsed all contemporary teachers by her lectures on the philosophy of the new Platonic School; while to many persons, such as her friend and scholar Synesius, afterwards Bishop of Ptolemais,[1] who called her his "mother, sister, and instructress," her lecture-room was like a vestibule to the Church.[2] Hypatia possessed much influence with the Governor of Alexandria, Orestes, and was suspected by some Christians of prejudicing him against their Bishop, and was regarded with antipathy by them as thwarting the progress of the Gospel by her persuasive advocacy of heathen philosophy.

A mob of wild and brutal fanatics, led by Peter, one of the readers of the Church, and swelled pro-

[8] Socr. vii. 14.

[9] Ibid.

[1] See Neander, i. 47; iv. 9. Gieseler, i. 323; ii. 23.

[2] See the interesting work of M. Chastel, Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient, pp. 244—276.

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bably by tumultuous *parabolani*,[3] waylaid her coming in her carriage from her lecture-room, and tore her from it, and with fiendish phrenzy hurried her to the Church called Cæsarëum, where they murdered her, and lacerated her body, and burnt her bones to ashes at a place called Cenaron.[4]

This deed, says the historian Socrates,[5] brought great discredit on Cyril,[6] and on the Church of Alexandria. It was perpetrated in March, in the season of Lent, in the fourth year of his Episcopate, A.D. 415.

It was noted also as a sign of Cyril's temper, that though the name of Chrysostom had been restored to the diptychs of the Churches of Constantinople and Antioch, A.D. 415, he clung so tenaciously to the enmity he had inherited from his uncle Theophilus, that he declined to place that name in the diptychs of Alexandria before the year A.D. 417. By its

[3] A guild so called from exposing themselves (παραβάλλεσθαι: see note on Philippians ii. 30) to danger in attending the sick and burying the dead. Tillemont, xiv. 276. Gibbon, vol. viii. chap. xlvii. p. 278. At first they were very useful, and received honourable privileges; which, however, they abused by taking part in popular outrages, so that they were placed under restraint by imperial enactments. Cod. Theod. xvi. 5, 42; modified ibid. xvi. 15, 43.

[4] Socr. vii. 15. The English reader will be familiar with the description of this outrage in Gibbon, vol. viii. chap. xlvii. p. 281, and in the Rev. Charles Kingsley's "Hypatia," chap. xxix. p. 361. In p. 368 he gives Cyril's supposed comments upon it. Gibbon says "that the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril;" and so Stanley, Eastern Church, p. 293. The evidence is weighed impartially in Canon Bright's article on Cyril in Wace's Dict. i. p. 764.

[5] Socr. vii. 15.

[6] Damascius, quoted by Valesius (on Socr. vii. 15), imputes much blame to Cyril in this matter, but his testimony is disputed by Du Pin, quoted by Reading; and Tillemont, xiv. 275, supposes Damascius, who lived about 130 years after the event, to have written under pagan influence.

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restoration, the Church of Alexandria was again in communion with Rome.[7]

For some years Cyril lived and laboured in peace. Besides the Paschal Epistles, which as Bishop of Alexandria he issued every year, he composed elaborate expository works on the Old and New Testament. His work on *Adoration in Spirit and Truth*,[8] in seventeen books, in the form of Dialogues between Cyril and Palladius, is assigned to this period. His *Glaphyra*[9] also (i.e. beautiful and polished things, like fair pictures or jewels) collected from the Word of God, belong to this period.

In the former of these works he describes the condition of Man, consequent on the Fall, and his restoration by Christ, the Second Adam; and declares that there is no way of justification and sanctification for Mankind but by Christ. He dwells on the moral virtues, such as fortitude, faith, and charity, which owe their existence and energy to Man's union with Christ.

He proceeds to speak of the Levitical dispensation as preparatory to Christ; and of the necessity of true Worship, which sees and adores Christ in that dispensation; and which contemplates Him and His Church, foreshadowed in the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, and in the Levitical Priesthood and Ritual. He declares also the necessity of purity of heart, and holiness of life, in order that the worshipper may be acceptable to God.

The concluding book of this work is an exposition of the Christian significance of the Hebrew Festivals.

[7] Tillemont, xiv. 281—283.

[8] Vol. i. pt. i. pp. 1—632.

[9] Vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 1—432.

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The other work, the *Glaphyra*, opens with the proposition, that "the mystery of Christ is signified in all the writings of Moses." This is illustrated in a spiritual Commentary on the Creation, and on the history of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel; of Noah and the Ark; of Abraham and Melchizedek; of Isaac and Rebecca; of Jacob, and Joseph and his brethren; of the twelve Patriarchs; of Moses; of the Exodus, and Wanderings in the Wilderness; the Manna; the smitten Rock; the Brazen Serpent; the twelve Spies; the acts of Joshua; the twelve Stones taken out of Jordan.

These works of Cyril have never received the attention which they richly deserve. They possess very great value, as unfolding the inner sense of the Pentateuch, and the true meaning of the Levitical Law.

To this period belong his Commentaries on Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets;[1] which unfold the Christian significance of Hebrew prophecy with the eloquence of an Origen, chastened with the sober judgment of a Chrysostom.[2] Cyril also composed expositions of St. Matthew, St. Luke,[3] and St. John.

Cyril's reputation as a Controversialist has obscured his fame as an Expositor; and in reading his polemical works, which are characterized by vehemence, and sometimes by acrimony, his critics seem to forget that he edified the Church of his own and suc-

[1] Cp. Tillemont, xiv. pp. 671—673.

[2] I feel bound to acknowledge my great obligations to Cyril, in commenting on the Pentateuch. And all who are familiar with Dr. Pusey's great work on the "Minor Prophets" know how much its learned and revered Author profited by the expository teaching of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

[3] Lately translated from the Syriac by the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, 1859.

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ceeding ages by his doctrinal and practical expositions of both Testaments.

The hostility of Cyril to Nestorianism has been ascribed by some [4] to personal animosity and jealousy of the See of Constantinople. But this appears to be an unfair imputation. They who have examined his expository works, and his treatise on the Incarnation, which is appended to his work on the Trinity, written before the elevation of Nestorius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, will acknowledge that a collision between him and Nestorius was inevitable. It was impossible for Cyril to remain silent, when he saw that the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith was assailed by the Archbishop of the Capital of the East; and it was equally impossible for one of his ardent zeal, indomitable courage, and inflexible constancy, to bate a jot in his endeavours to contend for that doctrine even to the death. "I am resolved," he said, "to give myself no rest, and to suffer all things for the Faith of Christ." [5] And again, "If it were only the loss of my estate,[6] I would willingly sacrifice it to gain my brother Nestorius; but since it is a question of Faith, and since a scandal has been given to the Churches, necessity is laid upon us to speak out. God has entrusted to us the preaching of its mysteries, and if we were silent, then at the Great Day the errors of those who make

[4] So Gibbon, chap. xlvii.; and even Dr. Neander, iv. 151—153, who imputes the worst motives to Cyril. Not so Dorner, who says, p. 55, "It is clear that the Patriarch of Alexandria was *not* moved by envy or ambition of power to oppose the School of Antioch;" and he shows that such opposition was inevitable, even if Nestorius had been the dearest personal friend of Cyril.

[5] Cyril ap. Mercat. pt. ii. p. 56.

[6] Cyril, Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 11.

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shipwreck of the Faith will be on our heads. I disregard his injuries and calumnies, and would gladly forget them; let the soundness of Faith be maintained, and no one will be a surer friend to Nestorius than myself. I speak it in the presence of God, and my heart's desire is that he may be filled with glory in Christ."

Among the controversial communications between Cyril and Nestorius, two deserve special notice, as stating clearly the questions at issue between them, and being the groundwork of the action of the third General Council of the Church, that of Ephesus, in A.D. 431.

In Feb. A.D. 430, Cyril wrote thus to Nestorius[7] on the mystery of the Incarnation:—"We must acknowledge two generations in Christ: first, the eternal generation, whereby He was begotten by His Father; secondly, the generation in time, whereby He was born of His mother. When we assert that He suffered and rose again, we do not mean to say that *God the Word suffered* in His *divine* nature, for God is incapable of suffering; but because the Body suffered, which was His, we say that *He Himself suffered.* So also we assert that He died, although the Divine Word in His own nature is immortal, and is the Very Life. But because His own real Body suffered death, we affirm that He Himself died for us. And we attribute Resurrection to Him, because His flesh was raised from the dead. We do not say[8] that we adore the *Man together with the Word*, lest that phrase '*together with*' should suggest the notion of non-identity; but we adore Him as One and the Same Person, because the Body which was assumed by the

[7] Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 8.

[8] As the Nestorians did.

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Word is in no respect external to the Word, or to be separated from the Word. . . . In this sense the Fathers ventured to call the Holy Virgin the *Mother of God*, *not* that the *nature* of the Word, or His *divinity*, received a *beginning of existence* from *her*, but because in her was formed, and animated with a reasonable soul, that Sacred Body, to which the Word united himself in *hypostasis*."

Cyril explained[9] the meaning of the word *hypostasis*, as used by him here, by saying that "the union of the *two natures* was effected by the second *Hypostasis* (or *Person*[1]) of the Trinity in itself, and essentially, but without confusion." On another occasion[2] also he speaks clearly of the *two natures* as united, at the Incarnation, in the one *hypostasis* or Person of Christ; and again he says,[3] "We see that the *two natures* came together by an indissoluble union, without confusion, and without any change of one to the other. Flesh is flesh, and is not God, albeit it has become in Christ the flesh of God."

He refers also to the Holy Eucharist, as deriving

[9] Cyril de Trin. p. 24, at end of vol. vi.

[1] The Catholic Fathers—being persuaded by Athanasius—recognized the word *hypostasis* as applicable to the *substance* of the three Persons of the Trinity, and also to each *Person* separately; *provided* that the sense was clearly defined in which that word *hypostasis* was used (see above, vol. ii. p. 222). And when we come to consider the relation of Athanasius and Cyril to the Eutychian Controversy, we shall see reason for believing that the word φύσις (or *nature*) was used in a double sense, viz. to designate the nature of God and the nature of Man separately, and also the *real union* of both in the *one Person* of Christ. Indeed we are continually reminded of the inadequacy of all human language to describe divine mysteries, unless the sense in which it is used is clearly defined.

[2] In the Synodal Confession of the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 430, Conc. Eph. pt. i. c. 26.

[3] Cyril ad Successum, Epist. p. 137, tom. v. pt. ii. ed. 1638.

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its virtue from this Union,[4] "We are sanctified at the Holy Eucharist, when we partake of the sacred Flesh and precious Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which we do not receive as common flesh—God forbid!—nor as the flesh of a Man sanctified and joined to the Word[5] by a union of dignity, or of one in whom the Deity dwells; but as really life-giving, and as the flesh of One united with the Word. He Who, as God, is Life in His own *nature*, became One with His flesh, and gave to it a quickening virtue. Else how could the flesh of a man be life-giving in its nature?"

The second important document is the reply of Nestorius to that letter of Cyril.[6]

Nestorius does not, in explicit terms, deny the junction of the two natures in one Person; but he does not recognize a real and essential union,[7] but only a connexion.[8] He asserts that "the Blessed Virgin is not to be called *Mother of God*, but only *Mother of Christ;* because, although the Body of Christ was the Temple of the Divinity, yet the properties of birth, suffering, and death cannot be ascribed to Divinity without falling into the errors of the Heathen, or of Apollinarius or Arius."

But Cyril had clearly stated, that though by reason of the unity of the Godhead with the Manhood in Christ it might be truly said that the Divine Word suffered, and died, and purchased the Church with His own Blood, yet he altogether repudiated the notion (which indeed in his letter to his Clergy he had stigmatized as absurd[9]) that Christ suffered and died in *His Godhead.*

[4] Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 26. [5] As Nestorius held and taught.
[6] Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 9. Mar. Mercat. p. 57.
[7] ἕνωσιν. [8] συνάφειαν.
[9] Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 12, "No one has ever said anything so

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Cælestine, Bishop of Rome, having received a letter from Cyril informing him of the controversy in the East, summoned a Council in August, A.D. 430, and stated the orthodox doctrine of the Western Fathers upon it. Especially he referred[1] to the celebrated Hymn of S. Ambrose for Christmas Day, in which are the words—

> "Come, Thou Redeemer of the Nations;
> Make manifest the Virgin's Childbirth;
> Let every age admire it;
> Such *Childbirth* befits *God*."[2]

Cælestine pertinently added, "How well do these words of Ambrose agree with the language of our brother Cyril, when he calls Mary the *Mother of God*; and with our own belief that He Whom the Virgin brought forth by the aid of Omnipotence was Very God."

Augustine also had expressed himself in the same terms as Ambrose, when he said,[3] "Man was assumed into unity with the Person of God the Word, Who remained unchangeably in His own divine Nature. As in a man the soul and body make one person, so in Christ the Word and Man are one Person. And as, for instance, a man is not called a *philosopher*, except by reason of his *soul*, and yet we say a *philosopher died*, although his death happened to him

absurd;" but they (the Nestorians), he adds, "make a conjunction only of *two Persons*."

[1] Frag. Arnob. c. Serap. p. 218, ap. Baluz. Coll. Nov. p. 379.

[2] "Veni, Redemptor gentium;
Ostende partum Virginis;
Miretur omne sæculum;
Talis decet partus Deum."

[3] Augustine, Epist. 169 ad Evodium, and Epist. 137 ad Volusian., and Enchir. ad Laurent. c. 34, 36.

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according to his *body*, and not according to that by which he is a *philosopher;* so Christ is God, and yet it is rightly said that *God was crucified*, although this happened to Him according to the flesh, and not according to that nature in which He is the Lord of Glory. He was manifested as Mediator between God and Man in such sort as to join both Natures in the unity of His Person."

The Council of Rome condemned Nestorius; and Pope Cœlestine in a letter to Cyril declared his entire concurrence in his opinions. And in circular letters addressed to Nestorius and his Clergy, and to John Patriarch of Antioch, and to Juvenal Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to others, Cœlestine declared that if Nestorius did not within ten days after he had received the admonition from Rome renounce his false doctrine, and promise to confess the faith of the Church of Rome and of all Christendom, he would be excommunicated and deposed.

John, Bishop of Antioch,[4] endeavoured to recover Nestorius from his errors, and exhorted him, "in speaking of the Lord's Incarnation, to use the appropriate term (*theotocos*) employed by many of the Fathers, which expresses truly His birth of the Virgin, and which none of the doctors of the Church ever declined;" and that cannot be rejected without dangerous and antiscriptural error, which would imply that it was not God who became incarnate, and made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant.[5] To this friendly expostulation Nestorius sent a refusal.[6]

Cyril proceeded to hold a Council at Alexandria,

[4] Concil. Eph. pt. i. c. 21. [5] Phil. ii. 6—8.
[6] Baluz. p. 688.

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in the name of which he put forth a Synodal letter containing the Nicene Creed, and an exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation in accordance with it. He appended to it "twelve anathematisms" against those who held the errors which are condemned in them. They may be summed up in the following abstract:[7]—

They declare that Christ is God, inasmuch as Scripture teaches, that it was the Word Who was made flesh, and consequently that the Blessed Virgin is Mother of God; and that the Union of the Word with flesh was hypostatic (or personal); that it was not a mere union of dignity or ethical union, but an hypostatic unity; that the things predicated of Christ in the Gospels are not to be attributed to *two persons* or *hypostases*, but to the Word begotten of the Father; that the human Nature in the Person of Christ has a claim to honour and worship, and is associated with the Divine in power and operation; and that the Divine is united with the Human, and is effective in the work of Propitiatory Sacrifice and Satisfaction for Sin, and of Redemption and Sanctification, and of vivification of the Body.

These "anathematisms" (it is to be remembered) were not personal: the name of Nestorius does not occur in them. They were expressed in an hypothetical form; that is to say, *if any one* holds the errors condemned in them, let him be anathema.

They were met by Nestorius with an equal number of anathematisms on his side.

The Emperor, Theodosius the Younger, now resolved to convoke a General Council[8] to settle this

[7] See Garner in his edition of Marius Mercator, Paris, 1673, pt. ii. p. 339, and apud Galland. Bibl. Patr. viii. 615, &c.

[8] For the History and Acts of the Council of Ephesus, see Socr. vii.

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controversy. The summons to it was issued on Nov. 19, A.D. 430, in the name of the Emperor of the East, Theodosius the Second, and of Valentinian the Third, son of Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great and Constantius.

Metropolitans of each Province were required to meet at Ephesus before Whitsunday, A.D. 431, and to bring with them such number of Bishops as they thought necessary.

S. Augustine was the only Bishop of the West who was invited by name. The Emperor sent a special messenger to request his attendance; but he had received a summons to a more peaceful world before the imperial envoy arrived at Carthage, which was at Easter, A.D. 431.

On Sunday, Nov. 30, A.D. 430, four Bishops, who were deputies of Cyril and of the Council of Alexandria,[9] arrived at the Cathedral Church of Constantinople, and delivered their Synodal letter.

On the following Saturday, Dec. 6, Nestorius preached to the people a Sermon,[1] in which he inveighed against Cyril, whom he called "the Egyptian;" and whom he accused of influencing the Court by bribes.

In that Sermon he said that the "Lord of all took our nature as a garment never to be put off, and without this robe He does nothing, and will do nothing." Nestorius disclaimed the error of Paul of Samosata, who made Christ to be a mere man; and disavowed the heresy of Photinus, who did not acknowledge the Word to have been eternal. He acknowledged

34; Labbe, Concilia, iii. 2—1206; Mansi, Concilia, iv. 577, 1109, &c., and v. to p. 1046; Harduin, i. 1535 sqq.; Hefele, Concilien, ii. 178 sqq.

[9] Concil. Eph. Act. i. p. 503. [1] In Mercat. Serm. 12, pt. ii. p. 84.

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the two Natures, and one Divine Son; but he did not own an essential union of the two, but only such a conjunction as subsists between Christ and the Church.[2]

The "anathematisms" of the Council of Alexandria under Cyril were not altogether approved by John, Patriarch of Antioch, nor by Theodoret, the learned and pious Bishop of Cyrus in Syria Euphratensis (to which he was consecrated A.D. 420), who had shown a fervent zeal for Christian missions in his Diocese,[3] and who imitated Basil and Chrysostom in munificent works of piety and charity.

Theodoret, like many other great Teachers of the ancient Church—such as Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, and Augustine—was the son of a holy mother; and received the name *Theodoret—given by God*—in answer to his mother's prayer, after a barrenness of thirteen years. At seven years of age he was sent to school in the monastery of Eutropius near Antioch; and at Antioch he was a hearer of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Chrysostom; he was also a friend of Nestorius and of John afterwards Patriarch of Antioch.

He did good service by his excellent Commentaries on the Old and New Testament, written in a terse and perspicuous style;[4] and by his History of the Church,[5] composed A.D. 450, a continuation of that of Eusebius till the year 427; and by his *Eranistes*,[6] in four books, written A.D. 446, on the Incar-

[2] Mercator, pt. ii. p. 117.
[3] See the details in Fleury, xxv. 30.
[4] Much commended by Photius, Cod. 46, and 203.
[5] Also lauded by Photius, Cod. 31.
[6] I.e. one who makes an ἔρανος or *picnic* out of divers errors. This

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nation of Christ against the principal heresies concerning that doctrine, especially against the nascent heresy of Eutyches; and also by his history of heresies, in five books, written in A.D. 453. He died about A.D. 457.

Theodoret belonged to the Antiochene school of theology, and he thought that the articles of Cyril and of the Council of Alexandria did not clearly distinguish the two Natures of Christ, and might be construed to favour Apollinarianism; but in his animadversions on those articles, Theodoret himself seemed to approach to the verge of Nestorianism.

Eventually, however, when those articles were cleared up by Cyril, Theodoret concurred with him in his doctrine, though for a time he declined to condemn Nestorius, which, however, finally he did; and in his letter to Dioscorus of Alexandria, he said, "If any one denies that the holy Virgin is the Mother of God, or divides the Only-begotten Son into two, let him be deprived of the hope that is in Christ."[7]

The Council of Ephesus met in St. Mary's Church on Monday, June 22, A.D. 431. On the throne in the centre was placed a copy of the Gospels, signifying the presence of Christ.[8]

At the first Session 158 Bishops were present, ranged in two lines on the opposite sides of the Church. Cyril presided, as highest in rank. Nestorius had been

work was also called πολύμορφος or *multiform*. It is by some rendered a *Mendicant*, i.e. a vagrant who gathers scraps by street-begging from door to door.

[7] In A.D. 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, his words were (Concil. iv. pp. 622—624), "Anathema to Nestorius, and to all who refuse to call the Virgin Mary Mother of God, and to all who divide the Only-begotten Son into two Sons."

[8] Cyr. Epist. ad Theod. Concil. iii. p. 1043, ed. Labbe.

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invited three times to the Council by a deputation of Bishops from it, but persistently refused to appear.

The Nicene Creed was recited; and after it the second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius.[9] Then Cyril asked for the opinion of the Bishops. Juvenal of Jerusalem was the first to pronounce judgment. Then 125 Bishops in succession gave their opinions, and expressed their assent to that letter, as in accordance with the Nicene Creed. The other Bishops generally signified their concurrence with it.

The letter of Nestorius, already mentioned, was then called for and read. Juvenal of Jerusalem again took the lead, and condemned it as inconsistent with the Nicene Creed; and pronounced anathema on all who held the doctrine contained in it. The other Bishops expressed their sentiments to the same effect.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him by the Council. In the preamble they said that Nestorius, when invited to the Council, had refused to appear; and that they had been constrained to examine the doctrines put forth by him in his letters and other writings and sermons preached at Ephesus, and duly attested. In one of these he had said, "I cannot call him God who was only a child of two or three months old; therefore I am clear from your blood, and will not hereafter come among you."

They then declared that in accordance with the Canons of the Church, and with the letter of their most holy father and brother-minister[1] Cælestine, Bishop of the Roman Church, they had, after many tears, concurred in the sorrowful sentence, to the effect that Our Lord Jesus Christ, Whom he has blasphemed,

[9] Above, p. 210.

[1] συλλειτουργοῦ.

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pronounces by this holy Synod that he is deprived of his Episcopal dignity, and is excluded from the assemblies of the Church.

This sentence was subscribed by Cyril, Juvenal, and all the Bishops present, 198 in number: others afterwards gave their adhesion to it.

The Session ended in the evening of June 22. The announcement of the decree, declaring the Eternal Godhead of the Son of Mary, was received with rapturous acclamations of joy by the people of Ephesus—a striking contrast to the tumultuous adoration of an idol, about 375 years before, in the same city: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."[2]

On the following day, a deputation was sent to Nestorius, with the intelligence of the result. They also sent a letter to the Emperor, with a report of their proceedings; and requested him to give effect to them by his royal authority.

But the Council was not allowed to remain without a protest against its acts.

John, Patriarch of Antioch,[3] had not been able to reach Ephesus in time for the opening of the Synod, and did not arrive till the fifth day after the deposition of Nestorius.

The Bishops had waited for sixteen days beyond the time fixed for the commencement of their proceedings by the Emperor, who had declared that those who did not then present themselves should be censured as contumacious; and many Bishops who

[2] Acts xix. 34. Ephesus was specially associated with the history of the Blessed Virgin, because her mortal remains, and those of the beloved disciple who took her to his home (John xix. 27), were supposed to rest in peace there (Concil. iii. p. 573). The legend of the "Assumption" is much later than the Council of Ephesus. Tillemont, i. pp. 467—477.

[3] Socr. vii. 34.

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came from a distance were much embarrassed by the delay; some were suffering from sickness, some had died.

Candidian, steward of the imperial household, and a friend of Nestorius, sided with John of Antioch, who assembled a conclave of his adherents, and proceeded to pronounce a counter-sentence of deposition on Cyril, and Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, who appealed to the Emperor. Cyril was imprisoned, and thanked God that he was allowed to suffer for Christ.[4] And John of Antioch himself was cited and excommunicated by the Council, who reported to the Emperor what they had done.

Theodosius sent his Treasurer, Count John, as his Commissioner to Ephesus.

In the mean time the Council decreed, on July 22, in consequence of the imposition of a Nestorian Creed—probably framed by Theodore of Mopsuestia—on some converts to Christianity, that *no different Creed*[5] from that of Nicæa should be proposed, in such cases, to candidates for baptism.[6]

In the next Session, July 31, on an Appeal from three Bishops of Cyprus against a claim set up by the Bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in that island, it was decreed "by the Holy Synod, that, inasmuch as public disorders, which bring greater damage,

[4] Concil. iii. 772, where is an honourable tribute to his sufferings.

[5] ἑτέρα πίστις.

[6] See the remarks of the Greek Canonists—Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristænus—on this decree in Beveridge's Synodicon, ii. 103; and Hefele's comments upon it, Concilien, ii. 206; and Canon Bright's Notes on the Councils, pp. 116, 117, which are a sufficient reply to Dean Stanley's allegations (Eastern Church, p. 177) that the adoption of the Constantinopolitan Creed at Chalcedon, and of the Athanasian Creed in the West, were infractions of this Canon of Ephesus.

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require stronger remedies, if no ancient Custom has prevailed for the Bishop of Antioch to ordain in Cyprus (as the depositions testify there has not), the Bishops of the Churches of Cyprus shall exercise that right inviolably without molestation; and the same rule shall be observed in all other Dioceses and Provinces, lest the Canons of the holy Fathers be infringed, and under the plea of Sacerdocy the pride of power should creep in, and we should lose the liberty which Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all men, has purchased with His own blood."[7]

Six Canons[8] were also passed in that Session.

(1) Against Metropolitans who might be recusants against the Council of Ephesus, or revolt from their subscriptions in it, and be favourers of the schismatical Conclave (of John of Antioch), or of Cælestius, i.e. of Pelagianism.

(2) Against dissentient Bishops, adherents of the schismatical Conclave.

(3) For the restoration of Clergy suspended by Nestorius for orthodoxy.

(4) For the deposition of Clergy who adhere to Nestorius or Cælestius.

(5) For the validity of Church censures which Nestorius might have attempted to annul.

(6) Against defamers or opposers of the Synod's authority.

[7] Labbe, Concilia, iii. 802. This "*jus Cyprium*," as it is called, has been rightly pleaded by Anglican divines (see Theophilus Anglicanus, part ii. chap. iii.) against Roman usurpations in this country.

[8] Mansi, iv. 1466. Labbe, Conc. iii. 104. Bruns, i. 25. Hefele, ii. 209. The valuable commentaries of the Greek Canonists—Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristænus—on these Canons may be seen in Beveridge's Synodicon, ii. pp. 99—110; and Canon Bright's Notes on the Canons, pp. 109—122, may be consulted with regard to them.

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Count John, on his arrival at Ephesus, announced that the Emperor—who was not well informed as to the state of affairs—had assented to the deposition of the heads of both parties, Cyril and Memnon on one side, and Nestorius on the other; and Count John placed them under arrest. This announcement was received with remonstrances and counter-remonstrances. Especially the Clergy of Constantinople, the city of Nestorius himself, were strenuous in support of the faith,[9] and in their opposition to his heresy.

An aged Archimandrite, Dalmatius, said that he had heard a voice from heaven commanding him to leave his monastery after forty-eight years, and to repair to Constantinople, and to ask for an audience from the Emperor. A procession was formed of Monks from different monasteries, with their Archimandrites at their head, and marched to the palace in two companies, singing antiphonal hymns. The Archimandrites entered the palace, and received a reply from the Emperor, which Dalmatius announced to the people assembled in the largest church of Constantinople. He assured them that the Emperor approved the sentence of the Council of Ephesus; not (added Dalmatius) from any persuasion of mine, but because he cleaves to the faith of his fathers. "Whom will you follow?" he asked. "Six thousand Bishops (for so many as that number were represented by their Metropolitans in the Council), or one unhappy man?" "You have said well," replied the Emperor; "pray for me." "I am sure that he will follow God and the Council; pray for him and for us." The

[9] Cp. Socr. vii. 34, who says that "all the Clergy of Constantinople with one voice anathematized him, and supported Cyril." Cp. Concil. iii. p. 778.

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people exclaimed with one voice, "Anathema to Nestorius."

The Emperor commanded eight representatives of each party to attend him at Chalcedon. Cyril and Memnon were under arrest. Nestorius was permitted to retire to his monastery near Antioch. John of Antioch and Theodoret appeared on behalf of Nestorius. Juvenal of Jerusalem, six other Bishops, and Philip the legate of Rome, were the deputies of the Catholic side. The Emperor gave five audiences to the deputies, but did not enter into the question of doctrine (indeed the Catholic deputies declined to argue it[1]), but simply accepted the decrees of the Council of Ephesus. Accordingly the Emperor, having heard both sides, ratified the Synodical sentence of deposition on Nestorius, and commanded the Catholic Bishops to come to Constantinople for the ordination of a Bishop in his place; and on Oct. 25, A.D. 431, Maximian, who had been educated at Rome, was consecrated to that see.[2]

Cyril returned to Alexandria, where he was received with great joy, on Oct. 30, A.D. 431. Memnon was confirmed in the See of Ephesus. Nestorius passed four years in his monastery near Antioch;[3] thence he was banished to the Southern Oasis[4] in Upper Egypt, where he wrote a defence of his opinions; and being there disturbed by some marauders, he wandered from place to place, and died about A.D. 439.

[1] Cp. Fleury, xxvi. 10.

[2] Socr. vii. 35, 37.

[3] Evagr. i. 7. Tillemont, xiv. 610, 611.

[4] The most southern of the four verdant spots (like emerald isles in the sandy desert) which bore the name of *Oasis*, and about three days' journey from the confines of Nubia. Michaelis, quoted by Gibbon, vol. viii. ch. xlvii. p. 298, in his narrative of the last days of Nestorius.

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The Emperor earnestly exhorted both parties to live in peace.[5] This exhortation was not fruitless. In pursuance of the Emperor's order, John of Antioch himself made a friendly overture to Cyril by the mediation of Paul, Bishop of Emesa.[6]

Cyril on his side had intimated in a letter to Acacius of Berœa,[7] that he was ready, in the love of God and respect for the Emperor, to forget all, and forgive all, as brethren. But he insisted on the maintenance of the sentence against Nestorius; nothing beyond this (he said) is required to restore peace; and he explained his opinions and "anathematisms" in a way to give satisfaction to Acacius and to John of Antioch, and even to Theodoret.

Paul brought to Cyril an affectionate letter from the Patriarch of Antioch, in which, while expressing his regret for the publication of the "twelve anathematisms" by Cyril (which however, he adds, had been subsequently explained by him), he earnestly entreated him to labour with him for peace, and to put a stop to mutual denunciations of brethren and of priests against one another. He also communicated to Cyril a formula[8] in the following words:—

"We confess our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten, perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and body; begotten of the Father before the worlds as to His Godhead. And we confess the same Lord, begotten of the Virgin Mary as to His Manhood in these last days for us and for our salvation; of one substance with the Father as to His

[5] Collect. Baluz. p. 656. [6] Concil. Eph. pt. iii. c. 28.

[7] Baluz. c. 56. Fleury, xxvi. 18.

[8] Hefele, Concilien, ii. 262, gives the original, which is in Mansi, v. 303; Harduin, i. 1703.

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Godhead, and of one substance with us as to His Manhood; since an union[9] of two Natures has been made; wherefore we confess One Christ, One Son, One Lord; and according to this signification of the inconfused union we confess the holy Virgin to be Mother of God,[1] forasmuch as the Word was Incarnate, and made Man in her; and forasmuch as He united with Himself, from the moment of His conception, the temple He received from her. But we know that theologians have used communicatively some words of the Evangelists and Apostles concerning our Lord, as spoken of one Person, and have distinguished other words as spoken of two Natures; and that they deliver to us the more divine words as referring to Christ's Godhead, and the humbler words as relating to His Manhood."

Cyril readily accepted this formula; and Paul of Emesa, on his side, as the representative of John of Antioch,[2] declared in writing that "he assented to the deposition of Nestorius, and to the consecration of Maximian in his room as Bishop of Constantinople; and that he anathematized the impieties taught by Nestorius, and embraced communion with Cyril on the terms of the above formula. By this act (he added) we put an end to the troubles which have arisen, and we restore tranquillity to the Church."

Paul[3] was then conducted to the Church of Alexandria, where he preached to the people in the presence of Cyril. It was Christmas Day, A.D. 432. He began his sermon with the Angelic hymn, "Peace on Earth;" he then said, "Mary, Mother of God, brought forth Emmanuel;" and he proceeded to condemn the oppo-

[9] ἕνωσις. [1] θεοτόκον. [2] Concil. Eph. pt. iii. c. 28.
[3] Concil. Eph. pt. iii. c. 31, and c. 32.

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site error. On hearing these words, the people were transported with joy, and expressed their delight with enthusiasm.

The only point now to be secured was the adhesion of John of Antioch and of his allies to the sentence of condemnation pronounced against Nestorius.

To effect this purpose, Cyril endeavoured to exert influence on the Court of Constantinople. He wrote to Pulcheria, the sister of the Emperor, and to some officers of the Palace, and ladies of the Court; and he accompanied his letter with presents.[4]

As to the recipients of these gifts, it is not creditable to them to have been supposed to be impressible by such solicitations; at the same time the customs of Oriental Courts, and of the Greek Empire in the days of the younger Theodosius, are not to be judged by the stricter maxims of a better age.[5]

With regard to the share of the Patriarch of Alexandria in this transaction, we may adopt the words of a candid and judicious historian. "S. Cyril," says Tillemont,[6] "was a holy man, but all his actions were not holy; and the most holy persons have need to fear

[4] Literally εὐλογίας, *blessings*; a word used for *gifts* in the Septuagint and in the New Testament. See the passages quoted below in the note in p. 245, on the election of Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, and on the irritation of the Chamberlain Chrysaphius, who was disconcerted by the stiffness of the Archbishop in not sending him the conventional εὐλογίας. As to the history of Cyril's overtures, see Concil. Labbe, iii. 908; Mansi, v. 987; and Hefele's remarks, ii. 264; and Fleury, xxvi. 20; and Gibbon, vol. viii. ch. xlvii. pp. 295, 296.

[5] The practice of negotiating by means of presents is as old as Hesiod, who says, Δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας (frag. 87); and even as the patriarchal age (Gen. xxxiii. 11; xliii. 11); and probably many instances of it might be cited from authentic records of our Indian diplomacy. Cp. Hefele, Concil. ii. pp. 246, 266.

[6] Tillemont, xiv. 541.

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the temptation which allures men to think that all methods are legitimate for the attainment of holy ends. The children of the light ought to use only the armour of light. Justice is to be maintained by just means. If we are to receive a crown of glory from God, we must fight for God with the weapons of God, and not with those of the world, which He does not approve. We cannot hope for success from our own arms. His blessing alone it is which is all-powerful, and we cannot expect to have it, if we attempt to serve Him by what is unworthy of His name."

John of Antioch did not reject Cyril's pacific overtures. He wrote a letter,[7] in which he declared that for the good of the Church, and in compliance with the commands of the Emperor, he had sent Paul of Emesa to arrange terms of peace, and to deliver in his name the formula of faith which had been agreed upon, and which has already been quoted.[8]

As to Nestorius, he added, that "in order to establish universal peace, and to remove all cause of scandal from the Church," he and his friends "had agreed to consider Nestorius as deposed from his see, and to anathematize the profane novelties of the doctrine broached by him; and to approve the ordination of Maximian in his room. We are in communion," he added, "with all the Bishops throughout the World, who hold and teach the pure orthodox faith."

Cyril received this letter with joy, and on April 23, A.D. 433, he ordered it to be read in the Church of Alexandria, together with his own reply to it, which was accepted cordially by the Patriarch of Antioch, and was communicated by him to the Bishops of the

[7] Concil. Eph. pt. iii. c. 30, p. 1094, ed. Labbe. [8] Above, p. 222.

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East. John also wrote to Pope Sixtus, and to Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople, in the same terms as he had written to Cyril.

Many Bishops came to Rome to celebrate the anniversary of the Pope's consecration, and were assembled together with a large congregation in St. Peter's Church on Sept. 17, A.D. 433, when the joyful intelligence arrived.

Pope Sixtus wrote congratulatory letters to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch on their union, and on the restoration of peace to the Church.

Thus the Patriarchs of all the greatest Sees of Christendom — Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—were joined together in rejecting the heresy of Nestorius, and in the profession of the true faith, as declared by the Council of Ephesus.

Cyril, having lived to see this happy consummation, departed in peace at Alexandria in June, A.D. 444, in the thirty-second year of his Episcopate.

In a retrospect of the Nestorian Controversy, we may revert to the question addressed by our blessed Lord to one whom Sixtus regarded as his Apostolic predecessor at Rome—St. Peter,—"Whom say ye that I, the *Son of Man*, am?" "Thou," answered Peter, "art the Christ, the *Son of the living God*."[9]

Jesus Christ—confessed to be Very God and Very Man—was declared by Himself to be the Rock of the Church; and the confession of this doctrine was blessed by Him as inspired by His Father in heaven.

This doctrine was impugned by Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the Capital of the Eastern Empire. He had been welcomed to that see by the

[9] Matt. xvi. 18.

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voice of Christendom. He enjoyed the favour of the Court of Constantinople. The amiable piety of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger was not combined with mental vigour. His sisters for a time seem to have patronized Nestorius, whose purity of life, exemplary self-denial, and ascetic austerity, commended him to general esteem. He possessed many natural gifts for winning popular applause. His noble presence, graceful deportment, clear and sonorous voice, fluent and polished eloquence, fascinated the multitude. His wonderful faculty of seeming to make divine mysteries easy to popular comprehension by a specious logic and persuasive rhetoric, exercised a subtle influence over many by tempting them to imagine that they understood the profoundest secrets of divine wisdom, which the greatest Doctors of the Church had represented as above the reach of human intelligence. He had other powerful allies. He had been a friend of Chrysostom, their own beloved Patriarch. He was intimate with John, Patriarch of Antioch; and he reckoned among his friends such men as Theodoret and other great Teachers of that celebrated School of Theology. He professed zeal for the Catholic Faith. He had commenced his Episcopate with endeavours to exterminate Apollinarianism, Macedonianism, and Arianism. No one could suspect him of being a latitudinarian. And while he clung tenaciously to his own dogmas, he overreached his opponents by seeming concessions to theirs.

The doctrine of the Incarnation was then in danger of being lost to the Church.

But it pleased God to raise up a champion of the Faith, a successor of Athanasius in the See of Alexandria.

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In some respects Cyril was not well qualified for the work. The Episcopate of his immediate predecessor, his uncle Theophilus, had left an unfavourable impression on the Church. The accession of Nestorius to the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople had been hailed with universal joy, but Cyril was placed on that of Alexandria with much difficulty after a contested election.

The earlier events of his Episcopate created a strong prejudice against him. His struggle with Orestes the Governor of Alexandria, his conflict with the Jews, his eulogy of a fanatical rebel; above all, the savage murder of the virgin-saint of Platonism, Hypatia,[1] had brought obloquy upon him.

It is true that when Nestorianism appeared, some thirteen years had elapsed since these unhappy outrages; and Cyril had done much to overcome the prejudice against his person and office by labouring peaceably and diligently among his flock as a learned and wise Teacher of Christian faith and practice, especially by his admirable expositions of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets.

Nestorius had many adherents, but Cyril was almost alone. The Court of Constantinople was against him. The powerful Patriarch of Antioch was against him. The learned Theodoret was against him. The remembrance of his uncle's conspiracy against the great Patriarch of Constantinople, Chrysostom, made it seem to many that his antagonism to Nestorius, a successor of Chrysostom, sprang from an hereditary jealousy of the See of Constantinople, and was due to personal enmity rather than to religious conviction.

But still, if there had not been a Cyril at Alexan-

[1] A.D. 415. For the history see above, pp. 202—205.

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dria, and if Cyril had not been inflamed with that ardent zeal, which even in the noblest minds is rarely free from passionate admixtures of human infirmity, it is probable that Jerome's words on the triumph of Arianism after the Council of Rimini in the fourth century,[2] might have been applicable to an equally deadly heresy in the fifth: "The World would have been astounded, and have wondered to find itself Nestorian."

The character of Cyril has been portrayed in unfavourable colours by most writers of Church history in the last and present centuries.[3]

It may, however, be doubted, whether we who live now are duly qualified to form a just estimate of him, and of those who were prevailed upon by his indefatigable energy to act with him, at the Council of Ephesus, and before it.

They were combatants in a great battle for the Faith; we reap the fruits of their victory. Their passions were excited; every nerve was strained by a keen sense of the greatness of the danger, and of the sacredness of the cause, and of the disasters of defeat, and of the glorious results of victory.

But in modern times, there seems to be an impatience of clear statements and definitions of dogmatic truth, and of bold protests against deadly error; and consequently there is a lack of that critical faculty which appreciates the characters and acts of those who contended for the Faith in the fourth and fifth centuries.

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 21. "Obstupuit Orbis et Arianum se esse factum miratus est."

[3] Beginning with Gibbon, vol. viii. chap. xlvii. pp. 276—299. Canon Bright, in his Church History, and in his article in Wace's Dictionary, is a striking and almost solitary exception.

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"The palate of Faith is necessary," says Augustine,[4] "to taste the sweetness of the divine honey of Truth;" and also, it may be added, to reject the deadly poison of Heresy.

The strong denunciations of the Ephesine Council against the errors of Nestorius are regarded by many as no less intolerant than the "anathematisms" of Cyril, which were not personal, but hypothetical. But this charge of intolerance would probably extend itself, if it ventured to do so, to our Lord's words, "He that believeth not shall be damned;"[5] and to His eight woes against false Teachers; and to His divine warning that He will say to those on the left hand at the Great Day, "Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire;"[6] and to St. Paul's words, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema;"[7] and, "If any man, or an angel from heaven, preach to you any other Gospel, let him be accursed;"[8] and to the warning voice of the beloved disciple, "If any man bring not this doctrine"—the doctrine of Christ—"receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds;"[9] and to his utterance concerning the heretic Cerinthus;[1] and to the answer of his scholar Polycarp to the heretic Marcion.[2] These and other like sayings, such as the warnings in the Athanasian Creed, although uttered in a spirit of Christian love, which (as Augustine says) "terrifies, because it fears,"[3] and which imitates the Apostle,[4] who said, "Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men"—all these

[4] Aug. in Ps. 96.
[5] Mark xvi. 16.
[6] Matt. xxv. 41.
[7] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.
[8] Gal. i. 8.
[9] 2 John 10, 11.
[1] Above, vol. i. p. 226.
[2] Ibid. p. 161.
[3] Aug. in Ps. 63.
[4] 2 Cor. v. 11.

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seem now to be proscribed by many as obsolete, and to be censured as uncharitable. But such utterances as these rang as an alarum in the ears of S. Cyril, and of the Council of Ephesus, and produced those denunciations which were not designed to destroy, but to save. If such anathemas were ebullitions of vindictive animosity (which God knows), let those who uttered them be condemned. But there may be deadly heresy in silence,[5]—when men in authority ought to speak,—and the Judge of all may punish such silence more severely at the Great Day than any language of those who have vehemently denounced errors, subverting the Faith which He has revealed.

However this may be, the sentences of Augustine [6] are worthy of remembrance: "If you love your friends, do not love their sins." "Let no one love the erring so as to love his errors, nor so hate his errors, as not to love the erring." And, "It is better to love men with severity, than to deceive them by flattery." And, "As there is a Mercy which punishes, so also there is a Cruelty which spares."

Such remarks as these seemed requisite, in justice to the Church herself, and to the memory of Cyril, who, almost alone, fought the battle of the faith; and to whom, under God, the Church owes the maintenance of the true doctrine of the Incarnation; but who has been censured in recent times with virulent vituperation by popular writers, who see only the smoke of passion in religious zeal, without caring to discern the fire of faith and flame of love which produced it.

In former days, other persons, who had better

[5] See Isa. lvi. 10; Ezek. iii. 18; xiii. 10—14; xxxiii. 8.

[6] Aug. Serm. 49; de Civ. Dei, xiv. 6; and Epist. ad Vincent., and Epist. ad Macedon.

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opportunities of forming a correct opinion, took a different view of Cyril's character. Acacius of Melitene[7] called him "the wise helmsman who feared not the violence of the winds, nor the danger of the storm." Maximian of Constantinople said,[8] that he had conquered the Evil One by his patience, and that he had despised all sufferings in the cause of the faith. Some, as the free-spoken Isidore of Pelusium (Epist. 324) charged him with the fault of too much readiness to concede for the sake of peace. Even Theodoret, his enemy, paid homage to Cyril.[9]

The fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 (seven years after his death), appealed to his authority as its standard of sound doctrine.[1] "We believe as Cyril did;" "The memory of Cyril is immortal," were watchwords of that Council.

But perhaps there could not have been a more impartial Judge of the parties in this struggle than the Bishop of Rome, who was free from Western prejudices and prepossessions. Cælestine was a calm spectator of the controversy; and in a review of it, it may be well to enumerate his letters as indicative of his bearing with regard to it, and also as a summary of the history.

In A.D. 428 he wrote[2] to congratulate Nestorius on his elevation to the throne of Constantinople. In 430 he held a Synod at Rome to examine his doctrine. After careful inquiry, that doctrine was con-

[7] Concil. iii. 983.

[8] Ibid. 1061.

[9] Theodoret, Epist. ad Dioscorum. The sermon in which Theodoret is said to have vilified Cyril after his death (Conc. v. p. 508) can hardly be genuine. Cp. Canon Bright in Wace's Dict. i. p. 855.

[1] Concil. iv. 141, 367, 370.

[2] Coustant, Epist. Rom. Pont. 1115.

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demned in it; and he addressed letters to Cyril, to John of Antioch, and to Nestorius, and to the Clergy and people of Constantinople, to notify that sentence.[3]

In A.D. 431, Pope Cælestine desired Cyril to receive Nestorius to communion, if he renounced his error.[4] In the same year he advised certain Bishops to be guided by Cyril;[5] and he entreated the Emperor[6] to restrain "turbulent novelties."

On March 15, A.D. 432, he wrote to the Council of Ephesus to congratulate them on the removal of Nestorius from his see, and on the appointment of Maximian in his place.[7]

On the same day he wrote three letters to the Emperor Theodosius to thank him for his action in both those respects;[8] and to Maximian, the new Patriarch of Constantinople, to congratulate him; and to the Clergy and people of Constantinople to the same effect.

This was his last utterance on the subject. His successor, Sixtus the Third, wrote on July 31, eulogizing Cyril for his clemency to those friends of Nestorius who returned to the true faith, and desiring that John of Antioch may be received into communion on the same terms.[9] On Sept. 17, A.D. 433, he wrote to Cyril to express his joy on receiving his letter, which announced that John of Antioch had returned to communion with him; and on the same day he wrote also to John of Antioch to congratulate him on that happy event.[1]

The Bishops of Rome did not suppose Cyril to

[3] Coustant, 1025, 1097, 1101, 1107, 1131.
[4] Ibid. 1292.
[5] Ibid. 1152, 1155.
[6] Ibid. 1163.
[7] Ibid. 1196.
[8] Ibid. 1203.
[9] Ibid. 1231.
[1] Ibid. 1254, 1258.

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have been actuated by any unworthy motives in this controversy.

Doubtless there was a demonstration of vehement passion on both sides. But, in the storm of those emotions, there was an inner calm of spiritual life and work. The power of God was made perfect in man's weakness. The Emperor Theodosius has been disparaged by historians for intellectual feebleness, but he was instrumental in controlling stronger minds, and in tranquillizing the agitation of exasperated disputants, and in disposing them to peace. And when some of the wise and eloquent of this world faltered in the faith, it found a resting-place in the hearts of the People, and sounded forth from their mouths. It declared itself in the enthusiastic acclamations of the City of Ephesus at the announcement of the decree of the Council; and in the Church of Nestorius himself, when the Emperor had given a favourable audience to Dalmatius, the champion of the Faith.

Thus, under the guidance of her Lord, Who had promised to be always with her, the Vessel of the Church, which had been tossed by waves, and buffeted by winds, and seemed to be in danger of shipwreck, was piloted through the storm, and was safely anchored at last in the harbour of Truth and Peace.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Eutychianism—S. Leo, Bishop of Rome—Latrocinium of Ephesus—Death of Theodosius II., July 29, 450—Accession of Marcian and Pulcheria.

THE history of the Church attests, that the true doctrine revealed in Holy Scripture concerning the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God has been perverted into an occasion of heresy; and that there never has been a heresy which, under the controlling power of God, has not been overruled for the further confirmation and elucidation of the faith.

For wise purposes, God deemed it better to educe good out of evil, than not to permit evil to arise.[1] As it is with physical death, so it is with spiritual. Without physical death, which was due to Satan and to sin, the Church would not have had the glory of Martyrdoms, and the consequent victories of Faith; and without spiritual death, due to Heresies which God allowed to exist, the Christian Faith would not have triumphed by repressing them, and have shone so brightly through the world.

[1] Augustine de Fide et Caritate, c. 27; de Trin. xiii. 16; and he says (in Ps. 130), "Nescit Diabolus, cum sævit, quanta bona de ipso fiant."

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Our Lord's words, "I and the Father are One,"[2] and "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father,"[3] were abused in favour of Sabellianism and Noetianism; but both those heresies were carefully examined and successfully refuted by Catholic Teachers of the Church, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, appealing to Holy Scripture; and by their means the true faith in the Holy Trinity was established on a solid foundation.

The saying of our Lord,[4] "My Father is greater than I," was quoted in defence of Arianism; but that misuse of His saying, and other like perversions, excited the Guardians and Champions of the Faith, such as Athanasius and Hilary, to "compare spiritual things with spiritual,"[5] and to elicit and exhibit the true sense of Scripture, and the testimony of primitive Antiquity; and thus the doctrine of the Godhead of Christ was more fully manifested to the World.

In like manner, the Truth, which the Catholic Church declared in opposition to Nestorius, who taught rightly that in God and Man are two Natures, but who wrongly inferred therefrom, that in Christ those two Natures can by no conjunction make one Person, was perverted by Eutyches, who taught rightly against Nestorius that those two Natures were united in one Person. It was made by him an occasion for an erroneous denial of the continuance of the difference of those Natures after that Union in the Incarnation. Arius had denied the *divine homoousion* or consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Eutyches would not acknowledge the *human homoousion* or consubstantiality of God the Son with us

[2] John x. 30.
[3] John xiv. 9.
[4] John xiv. 28.
[5] 1 Cor. ii. 13.

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men by the Incarnation; but he affirmed that the Manhood was absorbed into the Godhead in Christ.

But Christ had promised His own perpetual presence to His Church, and had declared that He would send the Holy Spirit to teach her all things,[6] to lead her into all truth,[7] and that the power of the Evil One should never prevail against her.[8] He fulfilled those promises by enabling her to overcome error, and to make it an occasion for the establishment of the Truth. This He did by means of those first Four General Councils whose declarations of Christian doctrine have been received by the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Catholic Church, which is "the Pillar and Ground of the Truth,"[9] and "the Spouse and Body of Christ,"[1] to which those promises were made.

"There are four things," says Richard Hooker,[2] "which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ; (1) His Deity; (2) His Manhood; (3) the Conjunction of both; and (4) the distinction of the one from the other, being joined in one.

"Four principal heresies there are, which have in these things withstood the truth; (1) that of the Arians, by bending themselves against the Deity of Christ; (2) that of Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to His human nature;[3] (3) that of Nestorius, by rending Christ asunder, and dividing Him into two Persons; (4) that of the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in His

[6] John xiv. 26. [7] John xvi. 13. [8] Matt. xvi. 18.
[9] 1 Tim. iii. 5. [1] Eph. v. 25. Col. i. 18, 24.
[2] Hooker, V. liv. 10. I have ventured to insert some figures and one or two words in this quotation.
[3] By denying that Christ had a human, reasonable soul.

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Person those Natures which they ought to distinguish.

"Against these heresies there have been Four most famous ancient General Councils; (1) the Council of Nice; (2) the Council of Constantinople against Apollinarius; (3) the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius; (4) against Eutychians, the Council of Chalcedon.

"In four words, ἀληθῶς (*truly*), τελέως (*perfectly* or *completely*), ἀδιαιρέτως (*indivisibly*), ἀσυγχύτως (*distinctly* or *inconfusedly*), the first being applied to His being truly God; the second to His being perfectly or completely Man; the third to His being of both One; and the fourth to His still continuing in that one Both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever Catholic Antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies."

Thus, while the Evil One has used good ill, and has made Truth to be an occasion of error, God has used evil well, and has overruled error for the triumph of Truth.

As S. Augustine and other Fathers say, "The Evil One concocts poison from God's honey; but Christ, the Divine Samson, overcame the Evil One, and extracted honey from the carcase of the slain Lion.[4] The Creeds of the Church are honey drawn forth from the carcase of Heresy.

[4] Judges xiv. 9. May I refer to the patristic authorities in the notes in my Commentary on that history, as to the triumphs of Christ in the Church over the power of the Evil One—the Lion (1 Pet. v. 8)? See also the notes on Numbers xvi. 38, and Augustine de Verâ Religione, c. 6, "Ecclesia Catholica utitur hæreticis ad probationem doctrinæ suæ;" and de Civ. Dei, xvi. 2, "Multa ad fidem catholicam pertinentia, dum hæreticorum callida inquietudine agitantur,—ut adversus eos defendi possent, et considerantur diligentius, et intelliguntur clarius, et instantius prædicantur."

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Proclus, the orthodox and peace-loving Archbishop of Constantinople, died on Oct. 24, A.D. 447, and was succeeded by Flavian, a presbyter and treasurer of that Church, who was not unlike his predecessor in character.

Eutyches, a Priest, and Archimandrite or Abbot of a large monastery near Constantinople, who had been an ally of Cyril in his opposition to Nestorius, was accused by Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum in Phrygia, a former associate with him in the same cause.

The charge brought by Eusebius against Eutyches, before Flavian and a local Council,[5] which met in the principal Church at Constantinople on Nov. 8, 448, was that he acknowledged but one Nature in Christ after the Incarnation.[6]

For a long time Eutyches persisted in refusing to leave his monastery, and to appear before the Synod; and it was not till Nov. 22, at the seventh Session of the Council, that he presented himself at it.

Flavian asked him whether he confessed Jesus Christ,[7] the Only Son of God, to be consubstantial with the Father as to His Godhead, and consubstantial with His mother as to His Manhood. Eutyches answered that up to that time he had not allowed himself to speculate on Christ's nature,[8] and confessed that he had never owned Him to be consubstantial with us; at the same time he acknowledged that Christ had not brought His body from heaven, and that the Virgin was of the same substance as we are, and that our God was incarnate of her.

He seemed to be ready to adopt the judgment of the Synod. "Since you now say so, I altogether

[5] *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα.* [6] Concil. ed. Labbe, tom. iv. 191, 192.
[7] P. 225. [8] *φυσιολογεῖν.*

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agree;" and again addressing Flavian, "I never said so before, but since your holiness says so, and since you allow me and teach me to say so, I say so."

Flavian and the Council would not accept these admissions, as not being sincere, and because at the same time Eutyches said, that "inasmuch as he asserted the body of Christ to be the body of God, and was not accustomed to say that the body of God is the body of a man, and that it is human, and that the Lord was incarnate of the Virgin, therefore he had never owned the Son to be consubstantial with us." "I confess," he said, "that He was of two natures before the union; but after the union I confess but one nature."[9] He had not found it clearly taught in Scripture (he said) that Christ had two natures after the Union; and he appealed to some Fathers, especially to Athanasius[1] and Cyril, who, he alleged, had taught that though He was of two Natures before the Union, yet after the Union and Incarnation He was *no longer of two natures, but one.*

This assertion of Eutyches, appealing to Athanasius and Cyril in favour of his own tenets, is important, inasmuch as this was precisely the ground which was afterwards taken by those who deposed Flavian. And even at the present day some learned writers have charged Cyril and Athanasius with a leaning to *Eutychianism*, because they sometimes speak of *one nature* in Christ.[2]

It has been replied by some (as the Benedictine

[9] P. 228.

[1] See above, p. 208.

[2] So Gieseler, §88 and §89, referring to Athanas. de Incarn. Verb. ii. 1, μία φύσις Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου, referred to by Cyril ad Monachos, p. 9, and ad Acac. p. 115, and de Rectâ Fide, § 9, Epist. ad Eulog. vi. 133; and so Neander (iv. 140), and Dorner (Vol. i. Division ii. pp. 56 and 57) concurs with Gieseler in this allegation.

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Editors) that the work ascribed to Athanasius by Eutyches is spurious, and it is regarded as doubtful by Tillemont.[3]

But, as it is quoted by Cyril, it appears to be a genuine work.[4] The true answer appears to be, that the sense of the word φύσις, or *nature*, was not at first distinctly determined, any more than was that of the word ὑπόστασις[5] (*hypostasis*), and it needed clear definitions to declare the meaning in which it was used. Sometimes it was employed in the sense of *Person*.[6]

It is quite impossible that Athanasius and Cyril, who declare so distinctly and emphatically the *duality* of the *Natures* in Christ (Very God and Very Man), should have used the term μία φύσις (*one nature*) in contradiction of that duality.

But it is quite possible that they may have used the word φύσις (in the poverty of human language) to express the perfect union[7] of the two Natures in Him, in contradiction to Arianism;[8] and that Cyril especially may have so used it, who seems to have thought πρόσωπον too weak a term in opposition to the Nestorian *relation* or *conjunction*.[9]

[3] viii. 715.

[4] See Newman on Fleury, xxviii. 8.

[5] See above, p. 208.

[6] Indeed S. Cyril, tom. vi. p. 209, says, "ἡ τοῦ Λόγου φύσις, ἤγουν ὑπόστασις.

[7] ἕνωσις φυσική.

[8] See Hooker, V. liii. 4.

[9] σχέσις or συνάφεια. As above remarked, the words ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον were used sometimes as convertible terms; and for the purpose above mentioned, the word φύσις was sometimes used for ὑπόστασις See the excellent note of Newman on Fleury, xxviii. 8, and Hefele, Concilien, ii. 143, and Canon Bright, History, pp. 355, 356, and his article in Wace's Dictionary, i. pp. 765, 766, 770, who well says that Cyril regarded that term (μία φύσις) as guarding the truth of the personal union, and as synonymous with "one person" or "one hypostasis." Cyril, in his first letter to Successus (p. 135), says that "the Union at the Incar-

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It is observable that S. Leo the Great, the great champion of the Church against Eutychianism, in his letter to the Emperor Leo,[1] appeals to Athanasius and Cyril as among his own authorities *against* the *Eutychian* heresy, and as maintaining *two* distinct *natures*, unconfused, in the one Person of Christ. The words he quotes from S. Cyril are,[2] "We must not divide Jesus Christ into Man separate from God, but must maintain that there is One Jesus Christ, having in Himself *two Natures*, but not confused." And again, "The Divine Nature is joined to the Human in Christ, but without change or confusion."

At the same time, it is certain that *before* the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, the language of many of the Fathers on the continuance of the *two natures*, inconfused and unchanged, *after* the *Incarnation*, was not so precise as it would have been, if they had written after the question had been thoroughly examined at that Council.

Let us return to the history of the Synod.

Flavian endeavoured to mitigate the eagerness of the accusers of Eutyches, and entreated them to be merciful; and assured Eutyches of a friendly and fatherly reception, if he would renounce his errors. At length, however, Flavian, having made many attempts to bring Eutyches to acknowledge that the two Natures—the nature of God and of Man—remain indissolubly united,

nation was effected by the concurrence of the two Natures, and that after this union we never divide them, but say 'the one incarnate nature of God the Word;'" and he adds, "There are two natures united, but Christ is one;" and he illustrates this by the union of body and soul in man; and in a second letter (p. 141) he says, "The union is without any confusion or mixture, since the divine nature is immutable, and human nature remains entire in Christ."

[1] Epist. 134, ed. Quesnel, p. 350. [2] P. 353.

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but without any change or confusion, in the One Person of Christ after the Incarnation, and having expressed deep sorrow for his persistency in error, proceeded to pronounce judicial sentence of excommunication and deprivation upon him. This sentence was subscribed by thirty-two Bishops, twenty-three Abbots, of whom eighteen were Priests, one Deacon, and four laymen.

Eutyches made no protest publicly to Flavian and the Council against this sentence; but on quitting the Church he whispered[3] to one of the laymen present—the patrician Florentius—that he appealed from it to a Council of Rome, and of Egypt (Alexandria), and of Jerusalem. He said nothing of Antioch; Domnus, who had succeeded John of Antioch, not being favourable to him, or to Dioscorus,[4] Patriarch of Alexandria.

Eutyches hoped to have Leo, the Bishop of Rome, on his side; in this he was disappointed. He reckoned confidently on the support of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, and of Juvenal of Jerusalem, and in this anticipation he was correct.

Probably Eutyches had not expected or desired to become famous as a leader of a party. He had not

[3] πρῴως.

[4] The name of *Dioscorus* (son of Zeus or Jove) seems a strange one for a Christian. May it not, however, have been a favourite name at *Alexandria* on account of its connexion with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, who was carried from Malta to Italy in a ship of *Alexandria*, "whose sign was *Dioscuri*" (the twin sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux)? Acts xxviii. 11. Perhaps also Dioscorus may have been a twin; like *Didymus* (or twin), famous at Alexandria as Master of the Catechetical School, and teacher of S. Jerome, by whom, being blind, he was called "*videns* meus," "my seer," on account of his inward light.

The name of the Alexandrian Patriarch is generally written "Dioscurus" by German scholars, and Dioscorus by English and French authors; it is Διόσκορος in the Councils.

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the intellectual or spiritual pride of an heresiarch. His language to Flavian at the Council was that of a man who hardly knows what his real opinions are,[5] and he seemed ready to adopt those of others with blind submission, not because he was convinced, but from unwillingness or inability to examine them, or to dispute about their sentiments or his own. He was seventy years of age, and had lived in retirement as Abbot of his monastery above thirty years. For the most part the Monks with whom he dwelt were more remarkable for pious and even fanatical zeal than for any intellectual qualities. He does not seem to have been a man of learning, eloquence, or logical acumen; and he appears to have honestly thought that he was bound to recede as far as possible from the dangerous heresy of Nestorius, and that the farther he departed from it, the safer he would be. He probably imagined, that in asserting not only the union of the two Natures in Christ, but their oneness at and after the Incarnation, he was maintaining the doctrine of Athanasius and Cyril, with which as a whole (carefully guarded and clearly expounded by them, as it was, in terms which conveyed their real opinions) he was very imperfectly acquainted. He may perhaps also have persuaded himself that the divine and human Natures, though separate in the abstract, are yet one in the concrete, as parts of one divine nature; and that without supposing the humanity to be wanting in Christ by reason of being changed into the divine nature, or absorbed into it, he might properly maintain that when two natures from the same origin were joined together, they must take

[5] On the character and opinions of Eutyches, see Newman on Fleury, xxviii. 6, where he is well contrasted with Nestorius.

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their name from that which is pre-eminent, and which, as it were, possesses the other, and is not possessed by it.[9]

Eutyches was probably little more than an instrument in the hands of others, especially of Dioscorus of Alexandria, and of the Court party at Constantinople, where the Emperor and Empress Eudocia were for a time estranged from his sister, the energetic Pulcheria,[7] who retired for a time from the Palace.

The Emperor and Empress were under the dominion of the arrogant and avaricious Chamberlain, Chrysaphius, who was a godson of Eutyches, and had a special antipathy to Flavian, because he resisted the covetous demands[8] which he made upon him as

[6] Cp. Newman's note on Fleury, xxviii. 6, and Dorner, vol. i. div. ii. pp. 115—119, who appears to justify Monophysitism by considerations of this kind.

[7] Tillemont, xv. 447. Fleury, xxvii. 12.

[8] This demand of Chrysaphius for what, by a specious euphemism, were called *eulogiæ* or benedictions, but were in fact *presents*,* was made in the name of the Emperor; and the rejection of the demand by Flavian—who is said to have taken the word *eulogia* in its literal sense, and to have sent to the avaricious Chamberlain, who expected an offering of gold, some white bread which had received his benediction at the Holy Eucharist—was resented by Chrysaphius, and was represented by him to the Emperor as an affront to the Crown. Flavian was supported by Pulcheria; and Chrysaphius, by means of the Empress Eudocia, persuaded Theodosius to demand of Flavian to consecrate Pulcheria a deaconess, and hoped thus to remove her from affairs of state. This artifice was eluded by Flavian, who incurred further displeasure from Chrysaphius and his master on this account, and Pulcheria retired for a time from the Court. Theoph. Chronog. 85. Fleury, xxvii. 12. Tillemont doubts this statement, xv. 447, 892. He thinks that Eudocia had quitted Constantinople for Jerusalem before this time.

This mention of *eulogiæ* (on which see Neander, iv. 224) throws some light on the act of Cyril narrated above. See p. 224.

* The word εὐλογία, literally a *blessing*, is used in the Septuagint for *gift*. Gen. xxiii. 11. 1 Sam. xxv. 27; xxx. 26. Cp. 2 Cor. ix. 6.

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Archbishop on his accession to the see. Chrysaphius promised his aid to Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, if he would support him in patronizing Eutyches, and in opposing Flavian.

Eutyches soon afterwards vanished from the scene,[9] and other more important personages, especially Dioscorus, succeeded to his place.

The position of the Archbishop was critical. Eutyches appealed to Dioscorus for help. The Emperor Theodosius supported his appeal. The Bishop of Rome, Pope Leo I., was prepossessed in his favour, and wrote an expostulatory letter to Flavian on Feb. 18, A.D. 449, in which he expressed a doubt whether Eutyches had been justly condemned, and he declared his surprise that Flavian had not communicated the circumstances of the case to himself.

Pope Leo I., commonly called the Great, may be regarded as the Cyril of the West. He had the same strength of will, undaunted courage, and indomitable perseverance; and was superior to him in practical wisdom and political sagacity.[1] He was not equal to him in rich exuberance of matter and style, and in breadth and depth of theological learning, as an expositor of Holy Scripture, but he stands forth con-

[9] What we hear of Eutyches after this time is comparatively unimportant. He did indeed write a letter to Pope Leo (Synod. Baluz. c. 222), in which he said that he held the faith of the holy fathers, especially *Athanasius*, who *rejected* the term *two natures*; and that he was ready to submit to his judgment. He was afterwards acquitted by the "Conciliabulum" of Ephesus; but he was anathematized by Anatolius, the successor of Flavian, and was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, at which he did not appear; and he is not heard of after the year 454. Tillemont, xv. 723.

[1] On Leo's character and acts see Neander, iv. 234—236, 239, 242, and the excellent work of the Rev. Charles Gore.

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spicuously among Western Bishops as the first great Preacher in the Roman Church.[2] His sermons are remarkable for soundness of doctrine expressed with vigour and terseness of language, and are worthy to be compared with the homilies of Augustine.

The letter which he afterwards wrote to Flavian on the errors of Eutyches, and which, as we shall see, exercised so much influence in the Eutychian Controversy, is one of the noblest specimens of a dogmatic homily in the Latin language.

If also the Treatise "on the Calling of all Nations" was, as some suppose,[3] written by him, he may be said to have done much to rescue the teaching of Augustine on Predestination from the unhappy consequences to which it was carried by some who followed him.

Leo was strenuous in his endeavours to eradicate the Manichæan heresy, by his sermons and by his acts. He told his hearers[4] that the Manichæans insinuated themselves into their congregations, but that they might be discovered by the following test: they were willing to receive the Body of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, but not the *Blood*, because they abhorred *wine*.

This is a memorable statement, as showing that there was no such thing as a denial of the Cup to the

[2] Sozomen says that in his own time no Bishop preached in the Churches at Rome; on which assertion see Fleury, xxvi. 48, with Dr. Newman's note, p. 217.

[3] As Quesnel, the Editor of Leo's works, Lugdun. 1700, in p. 1, and Dissert. num. 11, "quâ Leoni asseritur hoc opusculum." Neander adopts that opinion, iii. 226, but speaks more doubtfully in iv. 404. In the latter place he ascribes it to a student of Leo's works.

[4] Sermon iv. in Quadrag. c. 5.

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Laity in the Church of Rome at that time,[5] and also as indicating that there was no belief then in that Church that the *wine* had ceased to exist in the Sacrament after Consecration. In a word, there was no such doctrine as that of Transubstantiation in the Church of Rome in the fifth century, any more than that there was then any such practice as Half-Communion.

The former fact, as we shall see, was made still further manifest by arguments used in the Eutychian Controversy.

Leo also resembled Cyril in his strenuous endeavours for the extension and aggrandizement of his own Patriarchal power. His Pontificate was a memorable era in the history of the Roman Papacy. He had doubtless persuaded himself that as successor of St. Peter he had inherited certain privileges from that Apostle, derived from Christ Himself. The opinion that Peter was the Rock of the Church, and was declared so to be by our Lord Himself,[7] and the notion that whatever was given to St. Peter personally

[5] Dr. Newman, in his note on Fleury's History, xxvi. 54, commenting on this sermon of Leo, says that "another Pope, Gelasius (A.D. 492—6), speaks on this point in much the same terms as those used by S. Leo. See Gratian de Consecrat. Dist. ii. c. 12, where he calls the division of the Sacrament 'a great sacrilege.' Communion *in both kinds* (said Dr. Newman there, p. 232, in the year 1844) was universal in the ancient Church, and so it continued for a thousand years."

[6] See Neander, iii. 226, and Gieseler, vol. i. § 94, p. 444.

[7] Matt. xvi. 18. This notion seems to be at variance with the general scope of the whole passage (as is shown in my notes upon it), and with the words of Augustine in Joann. Tract. 124, "Super hanc Petram, *quam confessus es*, ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam. *Petra erat Christus*, super quod fundamentum etiam ipse ædificatus est Petrus," and other passages quoted by Gieseler, § 94, i. pp. 441—444, and cp. above, pp. 11—14, and p. 82.

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had descended to Bishops of Rome as his successors, had in the fifth century[8] been made the vantage-ground for claims which were either unknown to, or resisted by, the Churches of earlier times, and were not allowed to pass unchallenged for many centuries. Cyprian had opposed the pretensions of Rome to receive appeals from Africa, and in this opposition he was followed by Augustine and the Church of Africa, in the Pontificates of Boniface and Cælestine, in the case of the African presbyter Apiarius; and the African Church had given no heed to the judgment of Pope Zosimus in the Pelagian Controversy.[9]

Leo stretched the claims of the Roman See beyond any of his predecessors. He had strong temptations to do so. The opportunity was favourable. The Eastern Patriarchs were wasting their strength in conflicts with one another. Alexandria was jealous of Antioch, and still more of the recently founded Patriarchal throne of Constantinople. This feeling had displayed itself in the struggle of Theophilus against Chrysostom. The See of Constantinople itself was subject to the Imperial power, swayed by Court-favourites who were lords of the Emperor himself.

But the Roman Bishop had no rival Patriarch to dispute his claims. He ruled alone in the West. The Western Emperor was a stranger at Rome; the imperial splendours of the Palatine Hill had floated away to the Vatican. The Western Emperor did not claim to be a rival of the Patriarch at Rome,

[8] See the proofs of this in Leo's letter to Anatolius of Constantinople, Epist. 78, and in his action by his legates at Chalcedon; and cp. Neander, iii. 225.

[9] The authorities may be seen in Gieseler, § 94, pp. 448—450, and Neander, iii. 232, 233.

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but co-operated with him as his friend and ally, as was seen in the legislative acts of Valentinian III.,[1] which favoured the claims of his see, and prepared the way for the subjection of Western Potentates to the throne of the Roman Pontiff.

The Eastern Patriarchs themselves ministered to his aggrandizement not only by their intestine strifes, but by invoking his help to appease them.

Leo gave occasion to the struggle with Dioscorus, the newly elected successor of S. Cyril at Alexandria in A.D. 445, by writing to him on July 21 of that year, and by dictating rules of discipline[2] to that Patriarch and his Church, and by expressing his expectation that in ceremonial matters Alexandria would conform to Rome, inasmuch as Mark, the disciple of Peter, had founded the Church of Alexandria, and it was to be presumed that he had delivered the same rules to that Church as St. Peter had given to that of Rome.[3]

[1] Valentinian III., in A.D. 445, passed a law in these words: "The primacy of the Apostolic See having been established by the merit of the Apostle Peter, by the dignity of the city of Rome, and by the authority of a holy Synod (a questionable assertion if Sardica is meant; see above, vol. ii. pp. 92—94 for its limitations: and much more if Nicæa is intended; see vol. i. p. 455), no pretended power shall arrogate to itself anything against the authority of that see; for it is not possible that peace can be preserved universally, except when the whole Church acknowledges its ruler;" and resistance to the Pope was to be regarded as an offence against the State. Novell. Theod. tit. 24. On this law Tillemont observes, tom. xv. 441, that Leo obtained it from Valentinian when at Rome (June 6, A.D. 445), and that it was "too favourable to the power of his see, and not creditable to his piety;" and (xv. 83) he says "that in the opinion of those who know anything of the discipline of the Church, this law will do little honour to him (Leo) whom it praises, and as little hurt to him (Hilary) whom it condemns."

[2] Leo, Epist. Opp. i. 628. Mansi, v. 1240.

[3] This is a remarkable assertion. Among other peculiarities, some Churches under the Bishop of Alexandria administered the Holy Com-

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Leo had also already asserted his authority in Gaul by restoring a Bishop of that province, Celidonius, to his see, on the ground of his own primacy, which he was endeavouring to exalt to an universal supremacy,[4] and in defiance of the law of the Church, which subjected Bishops to the jurisdiction of their own Metropolitans. He humbled Hilary,[5] the saintly Bishop of Arles,[6] who protested in vain against that usurpation.[7]

But these aggressive acts of Leo, like the infirmities of temper in Cyril, must not tempt us to forget the services of either to the Christian Church in times of emergency.

The same courage which animated the Bishop of Rome to encounter without alarm the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric, prompted him to contend valiantly against heresy for the true Faith.

If any one should be disposed to imagine that the questions involved in the Eutychian Controversy were mere questions of words, and that they did not affect the foundations of Christian faith and practice,[7] let him be invited to read the letter[8] of Leo, Bishop of Rome, to Flavian on that controversy.[9]

munion in the Evening. See Fleury, xxvi. 48, p. 216, on the diversities of practice in Churches, and Dr. Newman's note there.

[4] See Leo, Epist. 9, 10, where he says that "he who thinks himself called upon to challenge the primacy of the Apostle Peter will find himself altogether unable to impair that dignity; but being puffed up by his own spiritual pride, will plunge himself into hell."

[5] See Vita S. Hilar. c. 16, 17, in Quesnel's edition of Leo's Works, i. 743.

[6] See Newman on Fleury, xxvii. 6, p. 245, "S. Hilary might well complain when Celidonius was received at Rome as a communicant, contrary to the canons, and when S. Leo set aside the sentence of a judicial Synod on one lawfully tried and convicted."

[7] As is well shown by Neander, iv. 217.

[8] It may be seen in Leonis Opera, ed. Quesnel, i. 242, ed. Ballerin.

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He says[1] that Eutyches was one of those, who, in the contemplation of divine mysteries,[2] "do not appeal to the voices of Prophets, and the writings of Apostles, or the authority of Gospels, but to their own selves; and become teachers of error, because they will not consent to be disciples of the Truth. No one can have acquired any knowledge of the Old and New Testament, who (as is the case with Eutyches) does not comprehend even the rudiments of the Creed.

"That Creed, which is professed by the mouth of all those throughout the world who are to be regenerated in Baptism, has not yet been received into the heart of him (Eutyches) who is now stricken in years.

"The whole body of the faithful profess in the Creed that they believe in God the Father Almighty, and in His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin

i. 801—838; Mansi, Concil. v. 1366; Harduin, ii. 290; Hefele, Concilien, ii. 353.

[9] To this letter of Pope Leo may be added his Sermons on the Nativity pp. 70—87); his Letter, in A.D. 458 (seven years after the Council of Chalcedon), to the Emperor Leo (Epist. 134, ed. Quesnel, i. p. 346; cp. ibid. ii. 182); and also the *Eranistes* (or Scrap-gatherer) of Theodoret, which exhibits the doctrinal and moral results of the Eutychian heresy. See Neander, iv. 218. Cp. p. 233 for Neander's character of Theodoret, whom he greatly admires, and Dorner on the Person of Christ, vol. i. div. ii. p. 81.

[1] There is a summary of Leo's Epistle (Epistola dogmatica) to Flavian in Dorner on the Person of Christ, vol. i. div. ii. pp. 86—89: "Leo says clearly (and this constitutes his merit), that the fundamental truth of Christianity is sacrificed quite as much by the curtailment of the Humanity of Christ as by a curtailment of His Divinity. He displays also great Ecclesiastical tact in the manner in which he describes Nestorianism and Eutychianism as two opposite rocks, on each of which alike a correct doctrine of the Incarnation must suffer shipwreck."

[2] Leo, Epist. ad Flavian. c. 1.

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Mary. By these three sentences all the devices of heretics are destroyed. For since God is confessed to be Almighty and Father, His Son is shown to be co-eternal with Him; and in no respect to differ from the Father, inasmuch as He is declared to be God of God, Almighty of Almighty, Co-eternal of Eternal, neither later in time, nor less in power, nor unlike in glory, nor divided in substance; and the same Only-begotten Co-eternal Son of Eternal Father is declared in the Creed to have been born of the Holy Spirit and Virgin Mary. This temporal Birth detracted nothing from His Divine and Eternal Nativity, and added nothing to it, but concentrated all its energy[3] in the reparation of fallen Man, in order that it might overcome death, and destroy the devil, who had the power of death. We should not have been able to overcome the Author of Sin and Death, unless He, whom neither Sin could sully, nor Death could hold, had taken our nature, and made it His own."

Leo proceeds to quote certain texts of Scripture,[4] and to apply them. "The properties of each of the two Natures being preserved unimpaired, while they coalesced into One Person, humility was assumed by majesty, weakness by strength, mortality by Eternity; and for the purpose of paying the debt of our condition, a Nature, which was inviolable, united itself to a nature that was capable of suffering, in order that, as was requisite for our cure, One and the Same Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus,[5]

[3] "Totam se impendit."

[4] Matt. i. 1. Rom. i. 1. Gen. xii. 3; xxii. 18. Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6. Luke i. 35. John i. 14. Gal. iii. 16.

[5] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

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might be able to die by His Manhood, while not subject to death by His Godhead. He Who is Very God was born in the entire nature of Very Man, being perfect in His own attributes, and entire also in ours, so far as they belonged to us by our creation before the fall, the evil of which He came to repair; for though He partook of our weaknesses, He had no portion in our sins. Each of the two Natures retains its own properties without any loss; and as the form of God did not take away in Christ the form of a servant,[6] so the form of a servant did not impair the form of God."

Leo shows that the acts of Christ on earth proved the distinctness of the two Natures in His one Person. "Hunger, thirst, weariness, sleep, belong to Him as Man; to feed five thousand with five loaves, to walk on the sea, to calm the storm—these are His works as God. To weep for Lazarus, and to raise him from the dead, are not acts of the same nature; to hang on the Cross, and yet to change day into night; to shake the elements, and open the gates of heaven to the penitent thief, do not appertain to one nature only. As God, Christ said, 'The Father and I are one'[7] (one substance); but as Man, He said, 'The Father is greater than I.'"[8]

Leo guards himself against the Nestorian heresy by showing that in the conjunction of these two distinct and unconfused Natures in Christ there is only One Person, the Person of the Divine Word, the Eternal Son of Co-eternal Father.

He concludes by expressing his surprise that Eutyches had not been more severely rebuked by his Judges for blasphemy, since "it is no less impious to

[6] Phil. ii. 6, 7. [7] John x. 30. [8] John xiv. 28.

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say that the Son of God existed in two Natures before the Incarnation, than to assert that He existed only in one Nature after it."

"We therefore exhort you, our very dear brother" (he is writing to Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople), "that, if by God's mercy the cause of Eutyches is brought to a happy conclusion, his ignorance may be purged of this error. The Acts of your Council show that he began well, when he professed his readiness to accept opinions which he had not held before, and to conform to the faith from which he has been estranged. But when he would not condemn the impious doctrine, you perceived that he persisted in his misbelief, and that he had incurred a sentence of condemnation. If he is sorry for his error, and if he at length acknowledges that your Episcopal Authority has proceeded rightly against him, and if he condemns his former error by voice or in writing, your mercy to him will not be blameable; for our Lord, the Good Shepherd, Who laid down His life for the sheep, and Who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, wills us to be imitators of His compassion. The true Faith is defended with most benefit when the opposite errors are condemned by those who have been deceived by them." Leo adds that he has sent as his legates and deputies to conduct the whole affair with faithfulness and piety, Julius, Bishop (of Cos); Renatus, a Priest of the title of the Church of S. Clement (of Rome); and the deacon Hilarus; and has associated with them Dulcitius as their notary.

From such statements as these, it is clear that the heresy of Eutyches—like that of Nestorius[9]—was

[9] See above, pp. 208—217.

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made ministerial to the advancement of the true faith by clear expositions of it; and also to the inculcation of Christian duties, consequent on the adequate reception of that faith.

This remark may be extended also to Christian Worship, especially the Holy Sacraments:

The divine virtue communicated to the faithful in the reception of the Holy Eucharist has been already seen to be connected with the true faith in opposition to the heresy of Nestorius. The Body and Blood taken and received by the faithful in that Sacrament possess divine power and efficacy by reason of their being the Body and Blood of Him Who is Very God (above, pp. 198—209).

This was argued by the Fathers against Nestorius. And in opposition to Eutyches, Leo contended for the real presence in that Sacrament, by declaring as a consequence of the verity of Christ's Human Nature remaining unimpaired and distinct after the Incarnation, that we do indeed really and truly partake of His flesh and blood in the Holy Eucharist,[1] and that we are, as it were, transfigured into it.[2]

At the same time the heresy of Eutyches has had the effect of making it clear, that though the ancient Church held the doctrine of the real presence of Christ, Very God and Very Man, in these Eucharistic mysteries, in an ineffable manner, it did not hold, but rejected, the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

[1] "In illâ mysticâ distributione spiritalis alimoniæ hoc impertitur, hoc sumitur, ut accipientes virtutem cœlestis cibi in carnem ipsius Qui caro nostra facta est transeamus; . . . ut nec infantium linguis veritas corporis et sanguinis Christi inter communionis Sacramenta taceatur," cap. 2, Epist. 59, to the Clergy and People of Constantinople. Compare Epist. 50, to the Greek and Gallic Bishops.

[2] Cp. Hooker, V. lxvii. 11.

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In fact, the Fathers illustrated the Mystery of what was done in the Incarnation, by a comparison of it with the Mystery of what takes place in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist. They affirmed that "as the transformation [3] of the sacramental elements does not make them to cease to be of the same nature as they were before" (or cease to be really bread and wine); "so the human Nature of Christ, joined to the divine, loses not the nature of humanity, but continues with the divinity as a substance distinct in itself." [4]

The letter of Leo to Flavian is dated June 13, A.D. 449; and on the same day he despatched seven other letters, one to the Emperor Theodosius,[5] in which he mentioned the names of the legates he had sent to the future Council summoned to examine into the case of Eutyches; another to the Emperor's sister Pulcheria,[6] urging her to endeavour to eradicate the heresy of Eutyches; another to her [7] to explain why he himself did not come to the Council; another to some Archimandrites at Constantinople,[8] in order

[3] μεταστοιχείωσις.

[4] This is evident from the arguments of Theodoret, Eranistes, Dialog. ii. tom. iv. pp. 125, 126, ed. Schulze, 1772, "from whence," says Bishop Pearson (Art. iii. p. 162), "it is observable that the Church in those days held no such doctrine as Transubstantiation." Cp. Hooker, V. lxvii. 11, quoting the same passage.

The same illustration as is used by Theodoret is also employed by the author of the Treatise "de Duabus Naturis in Christo," supposed by some to be Pope Gelasius. Bibl. Patr. v. p. 671, "Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, et tamen *esse non desinit substantia panis et vini.*"

[5] Mansi, v. 1391.

[6] Ibid. 1396. It is doubtful whether it reached her; it has been supposed by some to have been intercepted by Dioscorus. Tillemont, xv. 543.

[7] Ibid. 1401.

[8] Ibid. 1406.

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to refute the heresy of Eutyches, and to assure them that, if he renounces it, he will be treated with clemency; another to the Council summoned to meet at Ephesus, in which he protests against the heresy of Eutyches,[9] and nominates to them by commission his legates, who "are to be his deputies in the holy Synod, and to settle by suffrages, in common with it, what may be pleasing to the Lord;" another to Julian his legate,[1] in which he praises his faith, and instructs him how to deal with the case of Eutyches. The seventh letter is to the same Julian,[2] in which he more fully expounds the errors of Eutyches.

It is remarkable that Leo, who contended so strenuously for his own prerogatives, derived from Christ's words to Peter, whose successor he professed to be, and who in virtue of that succession claimed to have all that our Lord was supposed by him to have given to St. Peter, should have taken so much pains to enlist temporal influences in his aid. But Leo was a statesman[3] as well as a Bishop, and was ready to act in either character, as seemed expedient.

It appears from some of these letters, especially from one to Pulcheria, that Leo did not desire that another Council should be called, to settle a matter of faith, which he considered as already established. But happily for the Church, the question was not allowed to rest where it did. The Eutychian heresy could not have been suppressed by merely such an insignificant assembly as the local Synod of Constantinople in which Flavian had presided. And though the Faith was now about to receive a rude shock at Ephesus, yet even that was eventually

[9] Mansi, v. 1409. [1] Ibid. 1413. [2] Ibid. 1415.
[3] Cp. Dorner's remarks on Leo, vol. i. div. ii. pp. 90, 91.

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beneficial, as preparing the way for its full and final establishment in the General Council of Chalcedon.

For a time Leo's efforts seemed to be fruitless. His letters to Pulcheria, sister of the Emperor, if they ever reached her, could be of little avail, as her brother was prejudiced against her by the Chamberlain of his court, Chrysaphius.

The letter to Theodosius himself could have no effect. Charitable allowances ought to be made for one who was misled by persons of high station and influence in the Church, by whom he had been induced to imagine that they, who were asserting the *two Natures* in Christ, were in fact reviving the heresy of *two Persons;* and that Flavian was a follower of his predecessor Nestorius, whose heresy the Emperor himself had condemned; and that Flavian and his adherents were endeavouring to frustrate the Emperor's own work, which had gained him so much applause, in suppressing Nestorianism at Ephesus.

In this opinion he was strengthened by Chrysaphius the enemy of Flavian, and by the friend of Chrysaphius, Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who made much use of the popular plea in favour of Eutyches, that the two great predecessors of Dioscorus in the See of Alexandria, Athanasius and Cyril, had asserted that there was only "one nature of the Word after the Incarnation;"[4] and therefore Dioscorus affirmed that Eutyches and his supporters were, in fact, fighting the battle of the Faith, and were zealous for the memory of those great doctors of the Church, against the adherents of Nestorius.[5]

[4] See above, p. 240.

[5] Even in the eighteenth century the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Gibbon, vol. viii. chap. xlvii. p. 301) did

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Probably for these reasons Theodosius had chosen Ephesus as the place for the future Council. He hoped that its local associations might be favourable to the cause he had at heart; and that the spirit which had animated the Great Ephesine Council in the condemnation of Nestorius might inspire the minds of those who were to meet there, and might induce them to rescind the judicial sentence pronounced on Eutyches by the successor of Nestorius, Flavian; and he hoped to find another Cyril in Cyril's successor Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, whom he appointed to preside at the Council.[6]

It met at Ephesus on Aug. 8, A.D. 449, and it sat in the same Church, the Church of St. Mary, where Nestorius had been condemned by the General Council eighteen years before.

That this was the Emperor's view of the matter appears from his words addressed to Dioscorus on May 15 preceding:[7] "We have heard that many Archimandrites of the East, with the *orthodox* Laity, contend against some Bishops" (i.e. such Bishops as Flavian and Leo), "who are said to be Nestorians." The Emperor ordered that Barsamas, the Syrian monk, and other representatives of the Archiman-

not scruple to impute Eutychianism to Cyril, and to say that "Dioscorus and the unconstrained voice of the fathers" (at the Latrocinium of Ephesus; see below, p. 263) "accepted the *faith* of *Cyril*, and condemned the *heresy* of the *two natures*;" and again (p. 305) he calls Eutychianism "the faith of Cyril."

[6] The number of the Bishops present in this Council is not certain. At the beginning of the Council there seem to have been 135 (including delegates); some accounts raise the number even to 360. See Hefele, ii. 369. There appear to have been 135 at the close; ibid. 379. Others speak of 150 Bishops as present at some of the Sessions.

[7] Labbe, Concil, iv. 103

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drites of the East (who were favourers of Eutyches), should have places and votes in the Synod; and in a letter to Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had taken a leading part in condemning Nestorius, he expressed a desire that he would co-operate with Dioscorus, the President designate of the Council, in maintaining the cause of orthodoxy; in other words, in absolving Eutyches from the censure of Flavian.

Two imperial Commissioners were appointed to attend the Council, and to superintend its proceedings. Eutyches also was present.

St. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus, enumerates the qualifications requisite for the Episcopal office; and he there uses an expression, which he repeats in similar instructions to Titus, the Bishop of Crete. The Apostle's language, which sounds strange to modern ears, is very significant, as revealing an element in the Greek-Asiatic character, with which the Church had to contend, and which required much skill and power to control and mollify. "A Bishop," he says, "must be not self-willed, not soon angry, *no striker*."[8]

The Apostle had some anticipations of the turbulence of such Ecclesiastical assemblies as that which met in the year 449 in that City where Timothy was placed by him as Bishop.

That Council of Ephesus gained for itself by its proceedings the ignominious name of *Latrocinium*.[9]

[8] 1 Tim. iii. 3. Titus i. 6.

[9] *Latrocinium*, a title given it by Pope Leo (Epist. 95, ed. Ballerin.; Epist. 75 in Quesnel); in Greek *σύνοδος ληστρική*. See Hefele, Concilien, ii. 386; Neander, iv. 236. Leo's words are, "Ephesino non judicio, sed *latrocinio*;" his principal charge against it being the savage cruelty (sævitia) with which it enforced heresy.

Leo seems to have borrowed this term from Augustine, de Civ. Dei,

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By English writers it is generally called the "*Robbers' Synod.*" But this term hardly expresses its true character: it was not by acts of *robbery*, but by outrages of turbulent violence and savage cruelty, that it obtained the name of *Latrocinium*.[1] Perhaps it might better be called the "Ruffian Synod," or the Brigandage of Ephesus.[2]

In addition to the Monks admitted to the Synod, there was a large number of soldiers,[3] and tumultuous *parabolani*,[4] who were ready to act at the beck of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and had signalized themselves in the earlier days of Cyril by their furious attack on the Governor Orestes, and by the murder of Hypatia.

iv. 4, "Remotâ justitiâ quid sunt regna, nìsi magna *latrocinia*, quia *latrocinia* quid sunt, nisi parva regna?"

[1] "Ut *jugulent* homines surgunt de nocte *latrones*," says Horace (1 Epist. ii. 32), describing their character; and the word λῃστὴς in the Gospels and Josephus, which corresponds to *latro*, represents the character of the brigands, bandits, and assassins (sicarii, or cut-throats) who infested Judæa and Jerusalem in its latter days, and played so conspicuous a part in its turbulent and sanguinary insurrections. Our Translators of the Gospels have had some difficulty in finding an equivalent to it in the history of the penitent λῃστής. Barabbas, a λῃστὴς (John xviii. 40), who was preferred by the people to Christ was the antithesis of our Lord, not so much as a *robber*, but as a man who *took away life* (he had "committed *murder* in the insurrection," Mark xv. 7), and is contrasted with Him Who laid down His own life in order to give life to all. As St. Peter says (Acts iii. 14), "Ye have killed the *Prince of life*, and desired a *murderer* to be granted to you." The Church was changed by the Latrocinium of Ephesus from a House of Prayer to a σπήλαιον λῃστῶν. "Righteousness lodged in it, but behold *murderers*" (Isa. i. 21).

It will be seen in the foregoing note that it was not for acts of robbery, but of violence and cruelty (sævitia), that Leo was led to fix the name "Latrocinium" on the pseudo-Synod of Ephesus, see below, p. 265.

[2] The history of the Latrocinium may be seen in Tillemont, xv. 551—583; Fleury, xxvii. 39—41; Hefele's Concilien, ii. 368—386; Canon Bright's article on Dioscorus, in Wace's Dict. i. 866.

[3] As to the soldiers, see Concil. Labbe, iv. 113, 140, 251, 382.

[4] On these *parabolani*, see above, p. 203.

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Eutyches was invited to make his defence. He made an attack upon Flavian, and professed his adhesion to the Creed of Nicæa, and his repugnance to Apollinarius, to Nestorius, and to all heretics; but he evaded the question as to his own tenets on the Nature of Christ after the Incarnation.

Eutyches was admitted to the Council, but Eusebius of Dorylæum, his accuser, was not allowed to be present, although Flavian demanded his reception. When Hilarus, the legate of Leo, required that the Pope's letter to Flavian should be read, this request was eluded by Dioscorus; and in fact the Epistle of Leo was never heard by the Council.

The Acts of the local Council of Constantinople, held Nov. 8, 448, were read, and in the reading of those Acts the charges made in writing by Eusebius against Eutyches were rehearsed. On the mention of Cyril's name in those Acts,[5] the Council endeavoured to identify itself with him.

"The memory of Cyril is eternal," exclaimed many of the Bishops. "Dioscorus and Cyril profess one and the same faith. Cursed be he who adds to it, or takes away from it." One of the Bishops, Eustathius of Berytus,[6] did not scruple to affirm that Cyril had maintained that we ought "not to say two Natures, but *one* Incarnate nature of the Word; and that this was the doctrine of Athanasius." When they had reached the passage in the Acts of the Synod of Constantinople, which recorded that Eusebius of Dorylæum had pressed Eutyches to confess two natures in Christ after the Incarnation, and to declare that Christ, as to His flesh, is consubstantial with us, some of the Bishops vociferated, "Take him away,

[5] Concil. Labbe, iv. 151. [6] iv. 174.

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burn Eusebius; let him be burnt alive; let him be torn in two; as he has divided (the natures), so let him be divided."

Dioscorus, the President, did not hesitate to swell the cry with his own voice,[7] "Can you bear such language as this, which speaks of two natures after the Incarnation?" The Bishops replied, "Anathema to him who thus speaks. If any one says two natures, let him be anathema."

Thus the Faith was imperilled by those who ought to have maintained it. The Church was about to see at Ephesus a second Rimini.

The President Dioscorus put the question, "Which faith do you approve? that of Eutyches, or Eusebius?" "That of Eutyches" was the answer. "Eusebius[8] is impious."

Dioscorus then invited the Bishops to deliver their opinions severally. Juvenal of Jerusalem, who had been first to condemn Nestorius, now took the lead in absolving Eutyches, and voted for his restoration. Even Domnus of Antioch, who had subscribed his condemnation, recanted. The other Bishops assented. It does not appear whether the Pope's legates voted at all. The Monks were unanimous in his favour.

Dioscorus, the President, confirmed the votes of the Council. But he was not content with the absolution of Eutyches; he demanded of the Council the condemnation of Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had pronounced sentence on Eutyches; and of Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, who had been his accuser.

Flavian, who was present, protested against this proposal. He appealed from the Council as incom-

[7] Concil. iv. 224.

[8] Which means *pious*.

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petent to pronounce judgment upon him.[9] The sentence was also resisted by the legates of Leo. Hilarus, the Roman deacon, said in Latin, "*Contradicitur.*"

Dioscorus the President, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the other Bishops voted for the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius, on the ground that they had altered the faith of Nicæa and Ephesus.

Dioscorus rose from his throne, and was proceeding to pronounce sentence upon them, when one of the Bishops,[1] Onesiphorus of Iconium, sprang forward with some other Bishops, and clasped his knees, and implored him to pause. He refused to do so, and invoked the help of the civil officers. "Where are the Counts?" he exclaimed. At these words the Proconsul entered. At the same time a furious band of monks and soldiers, with clubs, swords, and chains, rushed into the church. Night was rapidly coming on. The Bishops were terrified by their violence and threats, and exhausted by the length of the Session.[2] Some of them put their names to a blank piece of paper, and signified their assent to the proposal of Dioscorus. Others declined to do so. Some of them were banished; others were deposed.[3] Domnus himself, Patriarch of Antioch, was afterwards deprived of his see by Dioscorus.[4] The Roman legate Hilarus[5] escaped with difficulty, and returned to

[9] Whether he appealed to a General Council, or to the Bishop of Rome, or to both, is not clear, and is a question keenly debated by Canonists. See Hefele, ii. 378, 379. Leo himself seems to say (Epist. 43 and 44) that Flavian appealed to a Council.

[1] Concil. iv. 253.

[2] It does not clearly appear whether the Sessions extended over several days, or were concluded in one. Hefele, ii. 369.

[3] Evagr. i. 10.

[4] Nicephor. xiv. 47.

[5] What became of Julius is not certain, but he is also said to have

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report the issue of the Council of Ephesus to the Bishop of Rome, and to tell him the heavy tidings that the Church of St. Mary, the principal "House of prayer" in that city, had been made a σπήλαιον λῃστῶν[6] by a Patriarch of Alexandria, supported by the Emperor of the East. Theodosius issued an edict confirming the sentence of the Synod, and was so much deceived by Dioscorus that he prohibited any one who taught the heresy of *Nestorius* and *Flavian* from being raised to the Episcopate.[7]

Flavian and Eusebius were imprisoned. Flavian was afterwards banished, and soon died; from the effect of wounds inflicted by some of the monks,[8] instigated by Dioscorus. Anatolius, a friend of Dioscorus,[9] was placed in the See of Constantinople.

Dioscorus, elated by success, proceeded, with ten of his suffragans, to excommunicate Pope Leo.[1]

The Bishops returned to their homes, many of them to weep in silence (like those who had been entrapped at Rimini) over the fault which they had committed through fear, and for which they afterwards expressed their bitter sorrow and anguish of heart, at the Council of Chalcedon[2] in A.D. 451.

Dioscorus did not long enjoy his triumph. He who had deposed Flavian at Ephesus, was, as we shall see,

returned to Rome. Renatus was not present at the Council. Hefele, ii. 387, 388.

[6] Matt. xxi. 13.

[7] Concil. iv. p. 863.

[8] Evagr. ii. 2. Niceph. xiv. 47. Zonaras, xiii. p. 44. Concil. iv. 1413. Prosper, Chron. p. 670.

[9] Liberat. c. 12.

[1] Concil. iv. 398.

[2] The details of their remorse, and of their subsequent confessions at Chalcedon, and of the violence used, and the bribery resorted to at the Latrocinium, and of the opinion of ancient writers on its proceedings, may be seen in Hefele, ii. 379.

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soon afterwards deposed, and was banished to Gangra, where he died in A.D. 454. Chrysaphius the Chamberlain met with an earlier fate; he was disgraced and put to death in the year after the Latrocinium of Ephesus.[3]

Eudocia the Empress was estranged from her husband, and quitted him on the plea of a vow of sanctity[4] for Jerusalem, where for a time she continued to favour the partisans of Eutychianism, but was eventually brought back to the Church and to its communion by Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had repented of his fault, and she died there in the year 460.

But the principal incident in this wonderful revolution of events was the death of the Emperor Theodosius. As he was riding near Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus; his spine was hurt by the fall, and he died on July 29, A.D. 450, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the forty-third of his reign.

Thus the chief power in the East passed into the hands of his sister Pulcheria, who had been associated with him in the Empire, under the title of Augusta, since A.D. 415. Leo had addressed letters to her,[5] congratulating her on her loyalty to the faith, and exhorting her to vindicate and maintain it, and to promote the convocation of a General Council for that purpose.[6]

According to the Roman Law, the sceptre of neither

[3] Marcellin. Chron. A.D. 450. Nicephor. xiv. 49. It is not clear whether this was before or after the death of Theodosius. Tillemont, xv. 610, compared with Gibbon, vol. vi. ch. xxxiv. p. 84. Hefele, ii. 395.

[4] Tillemont, xv. 524, 756, 781, 892. Gibbon, vol. v. ch. xxxii. p. 424.

[5] March 17 and July 16, A.D. 450. Mansi, vi. 64, 86.

[6] He afterwards changed his mind as to that point, on account of the disturbed state of Italy from the incursion of Attila and the Huns, and

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the East nor of the West could be swayed by a Woman alone. Marcian, a brave soldier of Illyricum, distinguished for his generosity, integrity, and orthodoxy, was raised by Pulcheria to the imperial throne, Aug. 24, 450, and was associated with her as her Consort; but so that her religious profession of virginity was not affected by the union.

He began his reign with a law against those who fell away from the Catholic Church to the heresy of Eutyches or Apollinarius,[7] and with a decree against idolatrous sacrifices, and against the re-opening of heathen temples.

Anatolius, Flavian's successor in the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, condemned the heresy of Eutyches in a Council of Bishops, Priests, and Archimandrites in that city, in July, 450. Flavian's body was brought by Pulcheria to Constantinople,[8] and was honourably interred in the Church of the Apostles among the mortal remains of his predecessors in the see.

Bishops who had been exiled after the Council of Ephesus in 449 were restored to their sees, Theodoret of Cyrus being among them.[9] Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, who had acted as the accuser of Eutyches, and had been imprisoned after that Council, and then fled for refuge to Rome, was commended to Pulcheria by Leo in a letter dated April 13, 451, and was restored to his see after the Council of Chalcedon in that year.

for other reasons. See his letters, April 23 and June 9, A.D. 451. Mansi, vi. 112, 114, and Hefele, ii. 400. But the Council of Chalcedon had been already summoned before the latter Epistle was written.

[7] Cod. Justin. i. tit. 5.

[8] See Leo's Epistle to her, dated April 13, A.D. 451. Mansi, vi. 105.

[9] Theodoret, Epist. 138—140.

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It is now asserted by Romish divines, and has been affirmed by them for three centuries, that the General Councils of the Church were convened by Bishops of Rome, and that no Council ought to be named General, unless it is summoned by him.

But the fact is, that none of the General Councils of the ancient Church were convoked by the Bishop of Rome.[1] And with regard to the fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, it was convened by the Emperor Marcian, independently of the Pope, if not in opposition to his wishes. Happily for the Church, the authority of the Emperor, acting on the opinion of Eastern Bishops, prevailed over that of the Pope.[2]

The summons for the Council was issued in the name of both Emperors, Valentinian and Marcian, and was dated at Constantinople on May 17, A.D. 451. In it the Emperor announced his intention to be present in person at the Council. The summons was addressed to Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and to the other Patriarchs and Exarchs, requiring them to meet at Nicæa on Sept. 1; but when they had assembled there, Marcian adjourned the Council to Chalcedon, as being more accessible from Constantinople, on the other shore of the Bosphorus.

[1] For the proofs of this, see Bishop Andrewes, Tortura Torti, p. 165, ed. 1629, quoted in Theophilus Anglicanus, part iii. chap. vi.

[2] Arendt (Leo de Gr. p. 264), quoted by Hefele, ii. 402, is of opinion that the summons for a Council, issued by the Emperor on May 17, A.D. 451, was anterior to the arrival of Leo's letter dissuading it, dated April 23. Leo, in his letter to Marcian, dated June 24, A.D. 451, and to Anatolius of Constantinople, June 26, expressed his surprise that the Synod had been called so soon, contrary to his wishes.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Council of Chalcedon—Conclusion.

THE Ecclesiastical Historian Evagrius[1] seems to have found refreshment, amid the conflicts of the Church, in contemplating and delineating the natural beauties of the scenery of Chalcedon and its neighbourhood. He has drawn a picturesque landscape of the Church of S. Euphemia, the place of the Council's assembly, situated on rising ground, gently sloping downward to the sea, distant from it about a quarter of a mile, and commanding a fair prospect of meadow-land and corn-fields, diversified with trees, and looking westward to the noble palaces and churches of the Capital of the East on the other side of the Bosphorus.

The Church, in which the Synod was appointed to meet, was approached—as usual with ancient Churches—through a rectangular atrium surrounded by arcades, and leading to the Basilica, which had a nave supported by columns; beyond the nave was a tholus, or circular building, surmounted by a dome resting on pillars, and surrounded by a gallery. On the east

[1] Evagr. Hist. ii. 3.

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side of the dome was the chancel, containing the tomb of the saint and martyr Euphemia.

The total number of Bishops present at this Council[2] was 630. It varied at different stages of the proceedings. Among them the legates of Pope Leo, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface, a Priest, held the chief place; next came Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, followed by Dioscorus of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Nineteen officers of the Eastern Empire were present, and were seated in the middle of the assembly, facing the altar, but at a considerable distance from it. The Bishops were ranged in two opposite rows. On the left of the officers the Papal Legates held the first place; then Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Stephen of Ephesus, and the other Bishops belonging to the Dioceses of the East, of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. First on the right of the officers were Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Quintillius of Heraclea in Macedonia (representing Anastasius of Thessalonica), Peter of Corinth, and the Bishops of Egypt, Palestine, and Illyricum.

The Four Gospels were placed in the centre, representing the presence of Christ; as had been done in the General Council of Ephesus.

[2] For the original documents and other authorities concerning the Council of Chalcedon, see Labbe, Concilia, vol. iv. 94; Mansi, Conc. vi. and vii.; Harduin, Conc. ii.; Evagrius, Histor. Eccl. ii. 2, 4, 18; Liberatus, Breviarium in Galland. xii. 142; Beveridge, Synod. i. 111 and notes, ii. 108; Fleury, xxviii. 1—31, to whom I am much indebted; Tillemont, xv. 628; Quesnel in Ballerini's edition of Leo's Works, ii. 501; Arendt, Papst Leo der Grosse, 267—322; Dorner, vol. i. div. ii. p. 92; Neander, iv. 239; Gieseler, i. 404; Hefele, ii. 410.

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The Council was opened on Oct. 8, 451, and was continued to Nov. 1 inclusive, in the same year; and held sixteen sessions.[3]

The Papal legates began with a protest against the presence of Dioscorus as a judge, whereas he was an accused party. This protest was received, and he was commanded by the Magistrates to withdraw from his place, and to take a seat in the midst of the assembly.

Eusebius of Dorylæum rose to impeach Dioscorus as guilty of acts of violence against Flavian and himself. This accusation led to the reading of the Acts of the Latrocinium of Ephesus, in which a letter from the Emperor was inserted, forbidding the presence of Theodoret.

Theodoret, having been now restored to his see, was ordered by the Magistrates to enter, and take his place in the assembly. His entrance produced much excitement in the Council, some vehemently denouncing him, while he was cordially welcomed by others. The Magistrates interfered, and order was restored.

The reading of the Acts of the "Latrocinium" was continued, from which it appeared that other Bishops had been associated with Dioscorus by the Emperor for examining the case of Eutyches against Flavian in that Council.

Dioscorus took advantage of this act of association, and alleged that not he alone, but the whole Council, was responsible for what was done in it.

Many Bishops, members of the Latrocinium, remonstrated, and earnestly protested that they had been forced by menaces and violence to yield to the will of Dioscorus, and to pronounce sentence against

[3] Cp. Hefele, ii. 411, 412.

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Flavian. "We all erred" (exclaimed the Bishops of the Eastern Dioceses, with voices of sorrow, three times); "we all erred, and we all ask for pardon for what we did."

It was also urged as a charge against Dioscorus, that he did not allow the letter of Pope Leo to Flavian (his dogmatic Epistle against Eutychianism, and in support of Flavian) to be read at the Council. Much discussion arose on the question whether Flavian's doctrine was or was not contrary to that of Cyril, and on the question whether or no Christ could be said to have two Natures after the Incarnation.

It was affirmed by the majority present that Flavian's doctrine was in harmony with that of Cyril,[4] and that he was unjustly condemned. Even Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, and some of the Egyptian Bishops who had acquitted Eutyches and condemned Flavian, concurred in that opinion. To this it was replied by Dioscorus, that Flavian had been deposed for maintaining two Natures after the union; and he contended that this opinion was contrary to the doctrine of Athanasius and Cyril,[5] who had taught that we are not to speak of two natures after the union, but of one incarnate nature of the Word. "If I am condemned (added Dioscorus), I am condemned with the Fathers of the Church."[6]

This sentence of Dioscorus serves to bring out, in clear light, the necessity and benefit of the Council of Chalcedon.

With all his failings of temper, he seems to have acted with perfect good faith, in a conscientious per-

[4] Labbe, Concil. iv. 170, 179. [5] See above, pp. 240, 241.
[6] Labbe, Concil. iv. 182.

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suasion that he was maintaining the doctrine of his two great predecessors, Athanasius and Cyril; and that it was his duty therefore to resist and condemn Flavian, and to persuade the Emperor Theodosius, and to induce the Bishops of the Church, to support him in that condemnation.

As we have already seen, some isolated expressions of Cyril, and even some of Athanasius,[7] put forth at a time when the dogmatic terminology of the Church, especially as to the word φύσις (nature), was not exactly defined, might not unfairly be construed in favour of that view; especially by one who earnestly desired to guard the Church against the doctrine of Nestorius, and who did not clearly see that to maintain *two Natures* in Christ after the Incarnation, was a very different thing from the Nestorian heresy, dividing the Son into *two Persons;* and that to assert a confusion of Natures after the Incarnation, so that the Manhood lost its true properties, and was merged in the Godhead, was to subvert the doctrine of His Person, and to deny the truth of His Passion, and to destroy the foundation of belief in the redemption, justification, and sanctification of Man by "God manifest in the flesh."

The history of Dioscorus is instructive. He was animated by zeal against Nestorius, and for Athanasius and Cyril. But his zeal was not guided by reason, nor informed by knowledge, but blinded by passion.

He fixed his attention on one or two passages of Athanasius and Cyril, which ought to have been construed with, and regulated by, that teaching, taken *as a whole*, in which the doctrine of the two Natures was clearly taught, as was shown in the Council of Chalce-

[7] See above, pp. 240, 241, 242.

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don; and he endeavoured to enforce his own notions of their doctrine by acts of physical violence, such as Athanasius would have vehemently condemned.

These considerations prove the need of the Council of Chalcedon to settle those questions. Happily for the Church, Dioscorus was made an instrument, under God's Providence, in settling them by that Council.

After the above-mentioned interpellation of Dioscorus, the reading of the Acts of the "Latrocinium" was continued, which gave ample evidence[8] of the violence of its President, Dioscorus, in forcing the Bishops to subscribe the condemnation of Flavian.

Those Acts having been read, the Imperial Commissioners arose, and said,[9] that it had appeared from the avowal of many, who had taken part in the "Conciliabulum" of Ephesus, that Flavian and Eusebius were unjustly deposed; and that it was therefore right that Dioscorus and others, who had taken the lead in that act of injustice, should be deposed also.

In the second Session, Oct. 10, after the reading of the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople, which was received by the Bishops with acclamation, a Greek translation was read of Leo's dogmatic exposition in his letter to Flavian.

Some exceptions were taken by several Bishops to certain paragraphs in that letter, where the doctrine of the continuance of the two Natures (distinct and not confused) after the Incarnation, was expressed. But it was shown that similar phrases had been used by S. Cyril;[1] and the letter of Leo was generally approved and accepted. "Peter has spoken by Leo;

[8] Labbe, Concil. iv. 252. [9] Ibid. 322. [1] Ibid. 367, 368.

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the Apostle taught thus: the doctrine of Leo is holy and true; Cyril taught thus. May Cyril's memory be eternal. The doctrine of Leo and Cyril is the same. Why was not Leo's letter read at Ephesus? Dioscorus withheld it."

The reading of Leo's letter was followed by the recital of those passages from the Fathers (Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Cyril), which he had appended to his letter.[2]

The question being put to the vote by the Commissioners, the Bishops signified their cordial assent to the letter of Leo.

In the third Session, Oct. 13, sundry charges were brought against Dioscorus for moral offences, as well as for his conduct at Ephesus.

He was not present in the Synod, and when summoned he refused to appear. He was therefore condemned for contumacy, and for having received into communion Eutyches, deposed by his Bishop Flavian; and for his violent acts at Ephesus; and for not permitting Leo's letter to be read; and for excommunicating the Pope. "Wherefore," said the Papal Legates, "the most holy Archbishop of Rome, Leo, through us and this Council, with the Apostle Peter, who is the rock[3] and groundwork of the Church and of the orthodox faith, deprives him of his episcopal dignity, and of all sacerdotal ministry."

Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, and 193 Bishops concurred in this

[2] Labbe, Concil. iv. 357, 361, 369; and compare Leo's letter to the Emperor Leo, with a similar catena appended, i. 349—354, where are four passages from Cyril.

[3] This is the language of the Pope by his legates. On this assertion see above, pp. 248, 249.

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sentence; which was communicated to Dioscorus, and to the Clergy of Alexandria who were then at Chalcedon, and to the Emperors of the East and West, and to the Empress Pulcheria.

In the fourth Session, Oct. 17, the Council accepted the Letter of Leo as agreeing with the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople. They also passed a resolution for the restoration of the five Bishops who had been deposed for taking the lead in abetting the acts of Dioscorus at the Latrocinium, but had now subscribed to the decrees of Chalcedon. These were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Basil of Seleucia, and Eustathius of Berytus.

This act was communicated to the Emperor, who left the matter to the discretion of the Council, which invited those Bishops to join their assembly.

In the fifth Session, Oct. 22, the Council proceeded to consider the question of Faith. The Emperor gave directions that a Committee of the Council should be formed to prepare the draft of a Declaration to be submitted to the Synod on this subject.

The Committee[4] consisted of Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the four legates of Leo, with six Bishops of the East, three of Pontus, three of Asia, three of Thrace, and three of Illyricum.

The Bishops chosen beside Anatolius were Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea (in Cappadocia), Eusebius of Ancyra, Quintillius Atticus and Sozon of Illyricum, Diogenes of Cyzicus, Leontius of Magnesia, Florentius of Sardis, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodorus of Tarsus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of Bosra, Theodorus of Claudio-

[4] Labbe, Concil. iv. 560.

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polis in Isauria, and Francion, Sebastian and Basil, Bishops of Thrace.

They retired into the Oratory of the Church, being escorted by the Magistrates; who, after their deliberations, returned and announced the result. It was read to the Council by the Archdeacon of Constantinople, Aëtius; and having been submitted to the Synod, was accepted by it with hearty acclamation.[5] "This is the faith of the fathers; this is the faith of the Apostles. We all follow it."

This declaration of doctrine began with a recital of the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople,[6] and proceeded to say that the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople would have sufficed, if novel terms had not been invented by enemies of the faith, some of whom (the Nestorians) depraved the mystery of the Incarnation[7] by refusing to the Virgin the title of *theotocos*; while others (the Eutychians) introduced a confusion of the Natures of Christ, and taught that there is but one Nature of the flesh and Godhead, and that the divine nature in the Son of God was subject to suffering. "Therefore this holy Council declares that the faith of the 318 Fathers of Nicæa is inviolable, and confirms the doctrine of the 150 Fathers of Constantinople on the substance of the Holy Ghost."

"In order also to refute those who would deprave the mystery of the Incarnation, this Council receives the Synodical letters of Cyril to Nestorius and to

[5] Labbe, Concil. iv. 564—568. Cp. Evagr. ii. 4.

[6] The additions to the Nicene Creed which were made at Constantinople were therefore, it appears, generally received as of equal authority with the Nicene; and no exception was taken by the Council of Chalcedon to such acceptance, as if it were at variance with the Ephesine Canon. See above, p. 218.

[7] οἰκονομίας μυστήριον.

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the Easterns; and joins with these the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo against the error of Eutyches, as agreeing with the confession of Peter, and as serving equally to destroy error and to establish the truth.

"This Synod opposes itself to those who endeavour to divide the Mystery of the Incarnation into two Sons; and it excommunicates those who presume to say that the Godhead of the Son was liable to suffering; and resists those who imagine a commixture or confusion in the two Natures of Christ; and it rejects those who erroneously say that the form of a servant taken by Him from us was pre-existent in a heavenly form, or in some other; and it anathematizes those who fabulously talk of two Natures of our Lord before His incarnation, and who feign that He had only one Nature after it.

"Following, therefore, the holy Fathers,[8] we all declare with one voice that we are bound to acknowledge one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect in Godhead and perfect in Manhood, Very God and Very Man, of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance with the Father as touching His Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching His Manhood; in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; begotten of the Father before all worlds, as to His Godhead; and also, for our sake and for our salvation, born in these last days, as to His Manhood, of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God; One and the Same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged *in two Natures*,[9] without confusion,[1] change, division, or

[8] Labbe, Concil. iv. 568.

[9] All the Latin copies have *in duabus naturis;* and Evagrius has, ii. 4, ἐν δύο φύσεσι, and this appears to be the true reading. See Tillemont,

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separation; the difference of the Natures being in no wise impaired by the union, but, on the contrary, the property of either Nature being preserved, and coalescing into one Person and one hypostasis; not parted or divided into two Persons, but One and the Same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ.

"These things being thus defined by us with all accuracy and diligence, this Holy and Œcumenical Synod decrees that no one shall be allowed to propose any different faith, or write, compose, or conceive, or teach others to do so; and it declares that those who venture so to do, or to propound any different Creed to those who desire to come from Heathenism or Judaism, or any Heresy whatsoever, if they are Bishops or Clerics, they are to be degraded from their office, and if they are Monks or Laity, to be anathematized."

The Council having accepted this Declaration without a dissentient voice, the Commissioners announced that a report of the proceedings of the Synod would be made to the Emperor.

An Address[2] to the Emperor Marcian was then drawn up by the Synod. It stated that a champion of the faith had been raised up in the person of the Bishop

xv. pp. 681, 919; Dr. Newman on Fleury, xxviii. 21, p. 373; Neander, iv. 244; Gieseler, i. § 89, 406, 408; and the numerous authorities quoted by Hefele, Concilien, ii. 470. Dorner's arguments for ἐκ δύο φύσεων (vol. i. div. ii. p. 411) seem hardly valid; but he truly says that the reading does not affect the sense, which is clear from other passages in the Declaration.

[1] ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

[2] προσφωνητικὸς λόγος or *Allocution*. Whether this was presented in writing, or delivered orally in the following Session, when Marcian and Pulcheria were present, does not clearly appear. See Hefele, Concilien, ii. 472, 473.

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of Rome; that the Council would have been quite content with the Nicene Creed; but that in consequence of the innovations of heretics they had been constrained to guard the ancient Faith by additional declarations of primitive truth. Leo, they added, had only taught in his Epistle what the Church of their Fathers had taught, and had made no alteration in it; and they confirmed this statement by quotations from the Fathers, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyril, and others.[3]

The Emperor Marcian and Pulcheria, with a large retinue of attendants, were present at the Sixth Session, Oct. 25. He addressed the Council in a Latin speech, which was translated by an interpreter into Greek. He assured the Council that his only wish in convoking the Council was to preserve the purity of the faith, which had been impaired by the covetousness and ill-directed zeal of some.[4] The true doctrine concerning the mystery of the Incarnation had been taught by the Nicene Fathers, and was contained in Leo's letter to Flavian. He had come to the Council in person, as Constantine come to Nicæa; not for any ostentation of power, but for the confirmation of the truth. He exhorted the Fathers of the Council to cleave to the old Faith, and to teach it to others.

The speech of the Emperor was received with applause; and Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, delivered to him the Declaration of doctrine which had been agreed upon by the Synod in the previous Session.[5]

[3] Mansi, vii. 455—474. Harduin, ii. 643—654.
[4] Especially Chrysaphius and Dioscorus.
[5] Labbe, Concil. iv. 605—609.

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The Emperor asked whether they were unanimous in accepting it. The reply was in the affirmative. The Emperor replied that, inasmuch as the Catholic faith had been declared by the Synod, he would take care that it should not be gainsaid by tumultuous oppositions. The Council joined in acclamations: "Long live the King; long live the Queen; you have raised up the fallen Churches, and have confirmed the faith. May God preserve your kingdom."

Three articles were then proposed to the Synod by the Emperor, who deemed it better, he said, that they should be enjoined by Canons of the Church than be enforced by Imperial Decrees.

One concerned the building of Monasteries and the multiplication of Monks, some of whom, he said, under pretence of piety disturbed the peace of the Church and Empire. No Monastery was to be allowed to be built without the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, and of the Proprietor of the soil. All monks were to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, and to live quiet and peaceable lives, and give themselves to religious exercises, and not to meddle in the affairs of Church or State (see below, p. 287).

They are not to receive slaves into their Monasteries without the consent of their Master.

The next article was against secular or regular Clergy engaging in trade.

The third was against the abandonment of a Cure by a Clergyman, and against his admission to any other benefice by a Bishop, without the consent of the Clergyman's diocesan.[6]

After these three articles had been accepted by the Council, the Bishops prayed to be released from

[6] Labbe, Concil. iv. 612.

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further attendance, and to be allowed to return to their Dioceses.

The Council had shown its charitable consideration for some Bishops who had acknowledged their fault in taking the lead with Dioscorus in the condemnation of Flavian, and it proceeded in its eighth Session, Oct. 26, A.D. 451, to extend its compassion to a different person, one who had been once a friend of Nestorius, and was distinguished by piety, learning, moderation, and sufferings,—Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus. They restored him to communion, on condition of his condemning Nestorius.[7] After some demur he said, "Anathema to Nestorius, and to all who refuse to call the Virgin Mary Mother of God, and who divide the Only-begotten Son into two Sons. As I have subscribed the declaration of faith, and the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo, so I believe. And now that I have said this, God bless you."

The condition on which Theodoret was received may seem to have been a hard one. But the Council of Chalcedon was under the necessity of disabusing many of the notion studiously propagated by the Eutychians, that in condemning Eutyches they had censured Cyril, and had condoned Nestorius. They were constrained to refute the objection that in maintaining the doctrine of two Natures they had fallen into the error of two Persons. Therefore while they honoured the memory of Flavian, and censured Eutyches, they also condemned Nestorius; in a word, they steered a middle course between the Scylla of the one, and the Charybdis of the other. Theodoret, having been notoriously a friend of Nestorius and

[7] Labbe, Concil. iv. 622.

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adversary of Cyril, could hardly be received publicly by the Council without a declaration of antagonism to the former, and of adhesion to the latter.

On the following day, the tenth Session,[8] Oct. 27, they performed an act of justice to Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, who had been accused of Nestorianism by his Clergy, and unjustly condemned at the Latrocinium of Ephesus; he now subscribed the Letter of Leo,[9] and was received as orthodox by the Council.

The eleventh to the fourteenth Sessions were taken up by local matters of minor importance.

The fifteenth Session was held on the 31st of October. The Imperial Commissioners and Papal legates were not present. At this Session[1] twenty-eight Canons were passed.[2]

The following is a short summary of them :—

Canon 1 re-enacts the Canons of former Councils, which were contained in a recognized Code[3] of the Eastern Church at that time.

Canon 2 is against Simony in the collation or reception of Holy Orders, and also against other promotions for money.

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[8] Labbe, Concil. iv. 633. [9] Ibid. 681.

[1] See the authorities for this in Hefele, Concilien, ii. 503. On the other hand it is maintained by Baluzius ap. Mansi, vii. 658, and by the Ballerini in their edition of Leo, ii. 503, 514, from Evagrius, ii. 18, that the first twenty-seven Canons were passed after the seventh Session, in pursuance of the Emperor's suggestion as to his three Articles, and that only the twenty-eighth Canon was passed in the fifteenth Session. It seems more probable that the Canons were reserved for the final work of the Synod.

[2] On these Canons, which are given in Labbe's Concilia, iv. 756, and in the other collections of the Acts of Councils, and in the Manual of Bruns, i. 25—33, see Hefele, Concilien, ii. 505—563; Canon Bright on the Canons of the first four General Councils, Oxford, 1882, pp. 123—210. Especially the comments of the Greek Canonists—Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristænus—in Beveridge's Synodicon, vol. i. 111—149, and Beveridge's own notes, ii. 107—125, deserve careful attention.

[3] See Hefele, p. 505; Bright, p. 124; Newman, Fleury, p. 392.

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The decree begins with condemning Simoniacal collations of *holy Orders*, and then proceeds to speak of preferment to *benefices* in the Church, and says, that "if any Bishop, for the sake of money, shall have promoted any treasurer, or advocate, or sacrist, or any ecclesiastical persons, with a view to sordid lucre, he shall be in danger of deposition; and no one who shall have been so ordained or promoted shall derive any benefit from the ordination or promotion which has been purchased, but be removed from the dignity or cure which he has obtained by money. And if any one can be proved to have negotiated as an agent in such base traffic, if he is a clergyman, let him be degraded, but if a layman, let him be anathematized."

As this is the most important Canon of the Ancient Church concerning *Simony*, which has been, and is, one of the worst plague-spots of some Christian Churches, it seems requisite to dwell a little longer upon it.

Simony[4] is so called from Simon Magus, who offered money to the Apostles at Samaria, in order to obtain from them the power of giving the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands,[5] and to whom St. Peter replied, "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money."

It is sometimes said, that inasmuch as what Simon Magus attempted to do was to purchase a *spiritual gift* for money, therefore it is *not* Simony to buy an ecclesiastical *benefice* to which temporal revenues are annexed.

But first, it is true that what Simon tried to buy was a spiritual gift, but he valued this gift not for any spiritual grace that it bestowed, but for the temporal advantage that would

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[4] On Simony see Launoy de Simoniâ, Opera, ii. pt. ii. pp. 451—563; Van Espen de Simoniâ circa beneficia, Jus Eccles. Univ. pars ii. tit. xxx., and his separate treatise, De Simoniâ, ibid. tom. ii. p. 185, Colon. 1748; Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 799; Bishop Stillingfleet, in his treatise on Bonds of Resignation, Lond. 1702; Thomassinus de Beneficiis, tom. vii. p. 443, and tom. x. p. 225; the treatise of Suarez de Simoniâ in Migne's Theol. Cursus Completus, vol. xvi. p. 322; Dr. Phillimore's Judgment in the Dean of York's case in Burn's Eccl. Law, ed. Lond. 1842, iii. 607; and Sir R. Phillimore's Eccl. Law, pp. 1110—1147, Lond. 1873.

[5] Acts viii. 18, 23.

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accrue from it to himself—whether in secular profit, or worldly fame, or both.

Secondly, it is said by some, that what is bought in the purchase of a living is the temporal benefice, and not the sacred office. But this is hardly correct. The benefice is annexed to the office, not the office to the benefice; and the benefice exists on account of the office, and not the office on account of the benefice. The office is the principal thing; the benefice is an accessory to it. What is bought is the *cure of souls;* for he who buys a living, or for whom a living is bought, cannot touch the temporalities before he has been *admitted to the cure of souls.* He must first come to the Bishop for *Institution,* by which the Chief Pastor of a Diocese admits a Clergyman to a cure of souls in it. Institution is a pre-requisite to Induction. Induction is performed by another person, the Archdeacon; and by it the clergyman, having first been instituted to the cure of souls, and to the ministry of the Word of God and of the Sacraments by the Bishop, is afterwards put into corporal possession of the *temporalities* of the benefice.

Therefore, what is *bought* (not indeed the only thing that is bought) is the admission to the Cure of Souls and the Ministry of the Sacraments; for if that were not first procured, there would be no claim to the revenues of the benefice. Therefore the purchase of a benefice by a clergyman, or by any one acting on his behalf, is the purchase of spiritual things, which is Simony.

The Church of England is explicit in her declarations on this subject.

The opinions of our English Reformers may be seen in the Injunctions published by King Edward VI., in 1547, and Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, where it is said that "to avoid the detestable sin of Simony, and because the buying and selling of Benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such persons as buy any Benefices shall be deprived of such Benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotion." And among the Canons of 1603, Canon 40 was specially framed "for the avoidance of the detestable sin of Simony, and because the buying of Ecclesiastical functions and livings is execrable before God."

In the Canons of 1571, framed under Archbishop Parker, and

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subscribed by the Bishops of both Provinces, is the following decree concerning Church Patronage and Simony:[6]—"The Bishop shall earnestly exhort Patrons of benefices to consider the needs of the Church, and to have ever before their eyes the Last Day and the Judgment and Tribunal of God; and, therefore, not to present any one to an ecclesiastical office except such persons as by learning, discretion, piety, probity, and blamelessness of life are qualified to discharge so weighty a function; and that they do nothing in this matter, otherwise than with integrity, honesty, and sincerity. And let the Bishop warn them that he will use all fair and lawful means to discover the truth therein. And if he should find, either at the time of presentation, or after it, that any corrupt proceeding or Simoniacal traffic has been resorted to, in any manner whatsoever, however clandestinely, either directly or indirectly, either by the Patron himself or by others, with a view to the procuring of any money or price, or any commodity, or any portion of the revenues, let him advertise the Patron that he is resolved to make a public proclamation of the fact, not only in his Cathedral Church, but also in other places, to the disgrace and eternal infamy of the Patron; and that he is further determined to remove the Presbyter, whom he has so nefariously presented, not only from the benefice which he has dishonestly entered, but from all ministrations in the Diocese." Such was the language of the Church of England at the Reformation, concerning Church Patronage and Simony.

Now to return to the Canons of Chalcedon.

Canon 3.—Against spiritual persons engaging in trade.

Canon 4.[7]—Against the building of Monasteries without leave from the Bishop and proprietor of the soil; and against roving Monks meddling with affairs of Church and State; they are to be subject to the jurisdiction of their Diocesan.

Canon 5.—Against Bishops and Clergy wandering from one city to another.

Canon 6.—Against ordinations of Priests or Deacons without a title.

Canon 7.—Against Priests or Monks forsaking their spiritual calling for military[8] or civil life.

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[6] In Cardwell's Synodalia, i. p. 129.

[7] See above, p. 282.

[8] So Hefele, ii. 511. Canon Bright, p. 148, thinks that στρατεία

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Canon 8.—Clergymen in hospitals[9] (asylums) and monasteries are not to be restive, but to be subject to the jurisdiction of their Diocesan.

Canon 9.—For the settling of disputes among the Clergy by reference to the arbitration of their Diocesan, without recurrence to the civil Courts. If a Clergyman has a suit against a Bishop, it is to be settled by the Synod of the Province. For regulation of the order of Appeals: If a Bishop or Clergyman has a dispute with a Metropolitan, it is to go before the Exarch of the *Diœcesis* (διοίκησις, a group of provinces), or "the (patriarchal) throne of the royal city Constantinople."

Canon 10.—Against unauthorized clerical changes of cures; and against Pluralities. A clergyman may not have two cures in two cities at a time; and if he has left his first cure from covetous, ambitious, or vainglorious motives, he is to be remanded to his first cure; and if he has been transferred from one cure to another, he is not to interfere in the affairs or religious foundations of his former cure.

Canon 11.—Indigent persons who need help, are, after examination, to travel with ecclesiastical letters of peace only, but not with letters commendatory, which are to be reserved for persons of approved reputation.

Canon 12.—Provinces are not to be divided into two by means of solicitations at Court, in such sort that two Metropolitans exist in the same province. Whatever Cities have been already raised to the title of metropolitical cities by royal letters, they and their Bishop are to continue to enjoy the dignity of the name, but the jurisdiction is to be reserved to the true Metropolitical city.

Canon 13.—No strange Clergyman or Reader is to officiate in another city without letters commendatory from his Diocesan.

Canon 14.—In some provinces Readers and Chanters of the Church are allowed to marry; but they may not marry an

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here means "not military employment as such, but the public service in general."

[9] πτωχεῖα mean more than Hospitals for the sick, or poor-houses: it signifies such capacious and noble foundations as that of Basil at Cæsarea (see above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257), or of Chrysostom at Constantinople (above, p. 157).

[1] They, and also Priests and Deacons, were allowed to marry *before ordination*. See above, vol. iii. pp. 103—107.

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heretical wife; and if they have done so, and have had children by her, who have been baptized by heretics, they are to bring them to be received into the communion of the Catholic Church; and if they have not been baptized, they may nôt take them to heretics for baptism; and they are not to contract marriage with a Jewess or heathen woman, unless the proposed wife promise to conform to the true faith.

Canon 15.—No woman is to be ordained a Deaconess before forty years of age, and after careful probation; and if she marries after she has been ordained, and after she has served for some time as a Deaconess, she is to be under a ban, together with her husband.

Canon 16.—Virgins who have professed self-dedication to God—and Monks—may not marry; if they do, they are to be put out of communion; but we leave their cases to be dealt with by the charitable consideration of their Diocesan.

Canon 17.—Rural Parishes or Villages [2] are to remain subject to the jurisdiction of their own Bishop, especially if he can show an undisturbed possession for a prescription of thirty years. But if within that term any dispute has arisen, the matter is to be referred to the Synod of the Province; and if any one has been injured by his own Metropolitan, let the appeal (as before provided) be to the Exarch of the Diœcesis, or to the (Patriarchal) throne of Constantinople. If any change has been made, or shall hereafter be made, by Imperial Laws, let the arrangement of the Ecclesiastical Parish be adjusted to the order of the Civil arrangement.

Canon 18.—Against libellous charges concocted [3] by cabals [4] and conspiracies; these are not only against the law of man, but of God. Any clergymen or monks who band together in brewing [5] accusations against a Bishop or a brother Clergyman are to be deposed.

Canon 19.—We hear that in some Provinces the regular Synods of Bishops prescribed by the Canons are not held.

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[2] *ἐγχωρίους*. The word *χώρα* is an ecclesiastical, and indeed an evangelical, term for a *village*. Luke xxi. 21.

[3] Such as those against Ibas of Edessa, and even against the great Athanasius.

[4] *φρατρίας*, clans, degenerating into factions.

[5] *τυρεύοντες*, literally churning into cheese.

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Provincial Synods are to be held twice a year for the setting in order any matter that may be emergent. Bishops who are in good health, and have no reasonable excuse for absence, are to be rebuked fraternally for non-appearance.

Canon 20.—No Bishop is to receive a clergyman from another diocese, unless such clergyman has been driven from his own cure by necessity.[6]

Canon 21.—No Clergyman or Layman who brings an accusation against his Bishop is to be received at once, and without proof, unless his own reputation has been duly examined and attested.

Canon 22.—No Clergyman may seize on a Bishop's private property after his death.[7]

Canon 23.—We have heard that some Clergymen and Monks, without any commission from their Bishop, or even though excommunicated by him, go to the royal city Constantinople, and spend a long time there, and disturb the Church there, and subvert[8] the houses of some. Such persons are first to receive a monition from the Advocate of the most holy Church to quit the City; and if they persist in remaining there, they are to be forcibly expelled by him, and to return home.

Canon 24.—The Monasteries which have once been consecrated with the consent of the Bishops are to remain such, and are not to become secular dwellings.

Canon 25.—Consecrations of Bishops are not to be deferred by Metropolitans beyond three months after the vacancy of the see.

Canon 26.—Every Bishop shall have a Steward (Œconomus) of Church property, chosen from the clerical body, and administering the revenues under the Bishop's direction; but he is not to undertake the management of it himself.[9] This is to secure witnesses as to the administration of the goods of the Church, and to prevent them from being dissipated, and also to avoid scandal.

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[6] E.g. by an incursion of barbarians.

[7] So as to mix it up with what belonged to the *See*, which appertained to the *Church*.

[8] Titus i. 11.

[9] The case of S. Ambrose employing his brother Satyrus in that capacity, and devolving all his cares upon him, will occur to the reader. See above, vol. iii. 17.

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Canon 27.—All persons guilty of abduction of women, even under promise of marriage, or who are accomplices in such abductions, are, if clergymen, to be deposed; if laymen, to be placed under a ban.

The next Canon, the 28th, gave rise to much controversy, after it had been enacted by the Synod.

It runs thus:—"We follow in all respects the decrees of the holy Fathers, and we recognize the Canon[1] just read to us of the 150 Fathers much beloved of God (i.e. of the Council of Constantinople), and we make the same decree as they did concerning the privileges[2] of the most holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome. For our Fathers (i.e. in the 6th Canon of Nicæa) have justly assigned its privileges to the throne of Old Rome on account of the imperial dignity of that City; and the 150 Fathers (at Constantinople), being moved by the same consideration, adjudged the equality of privileges[2] to the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the City which is honoured with the Sovereignty and Senate, and which enjoys the parity of privileges with the ancient Imperial Rome, should be glorified also, as Rome is, in ecclesiastical affairs, being next after her; provided that only the Metropolitans of Pontus, and of the Diœcesis[3] of Asia and of Thrace, and besides them the Bishops in the barbarous places

[1] I.e. the 3rd Canon of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), which gave the precedence of honour (τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς) "to the Bishop of Constantinople next after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome." See above, vol. ii. p. 338.

[2] τὰ πρεσβεῖα, *the* privileges of precedence. Observe the article τὰ in both these passages. The word πρεσβεῖα, rendered *privileges*, implies specially precedence, primacy, or pre-eminence; it is a word expressing *dignity* rather than *jurisdiction*.

[3] Wherever the word *Diœcesis* is used in this translation, it is to be understood in its widest sense as comprehending several Provinces.

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of the said Diœceses, shall be ordained by the aforesaid most holy Throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople—that is to say, that each Metropolitan of the Diœceses aforesaid, together with the Bishops of his Province, should ordain the Bishops of that Province, as is ordered by the holy Canons; and that the Metropolitans themselves of the Diœceses aforesaid should be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople, with the concurrence of the votes taken according to usage, and presented to him."[4]

This 28th Canon is an important one.

It was grounded on the 3rd Canon of the General Council of Constantinople, which decreed that the Bishop of Constantinople, because it is New Rome, should have precedence of honour next after the Bishop of Rome.

It affirmed that the precedence of the Bishop of Rome was based on the fact of its being the ancient Capital of the Roman Empire.

It ignored the claims of the Bishop of Rome to primacy on the pleas, alleged by him, of the gift of Christ to Peter, and of the succession of the Bishops of Rome to that Apostle.

It asserted that the Bishop of Constantinople was entitled to an equal primacy of honour (in the East), on account of that City being honoured with the residence of the Emperor and of the Senate.

It affirmed that Ecclesiastical dignity should be adapted to Temporal eminence.

It assigned to the Archbishop of Constantinople

[4] Two other Canons (29th and 30th) are ascribed by some to the Council of Chalcedon, but they are not found in the Greek or Latin Collections of Canons.

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not only the primacy of honour next to Rome, but gave him also Patriarchal jurisdiction.[5]

Such are the facts of the case.

The Legates of Pope Leo were not present when this 28th Canon was accepted by the Council in the fifteenth Session. Probably they purposely absented themselves, on the surmise that such a proposal would be made, and that they might be outvoted in the Synod; and they reserved themselves for the next and last Session, the sixteenth, on Nov. 1, at which they remonstrated against it.[6]

To this protest it was replied by the Archdeacon of Constantinople, Aëtius, in the name of the Church of that City, that the Legates had been requested to be present, and had been informed that matters would be proposed concerning that Church; but that they had declined to attend, on the plea that they had not received any instructions on that matter. He added that the Canon had been proposed and enacted in a regular manner, and that it had been subscribed voluntarily by 192 Bishops without any dictation. The Bishops assented unanimously to this reply of the Archdeacon.

The Roman Legates desired that either the Canon should be abrogated, or that their protest against this degradation of the Roman See should be entered in the Acts.

The Imperial Commissioners declared that the Canon was duly enacted, which preserved the primacy[7]

[5] This *jurisdiction* had not been given by the 3rd Canon of Constantinople, but it grew up naturally by degrees, and was an accepted fact at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. See Dr. Newman on Fleury, xxviii. 34, p. 406.

[6] Concil. Labbe, iv. 792, 796.

[7] τὰ πρωτεῖα, καὶ τὴν ἐξαίρετον τιμήν.

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and precedence of honour to the Archbishop of Old Rome, but that the Archbishop of Constantinople ought to enjoy the same precedence of honour,[8] and should have (with some modifications[9]) the Patriarchal jurisdiction assigned to him by the Council.

The Bishops of the Council adhered to their resolution,[1] and addressed a respectful letter to Pope Leo after the session was over. They thanked him for his services to the Faith; and they reminded him of what had been done in the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381; and while they said that his legates had resisted the 28th Canon, doubtless in order that he himself might have the grace of proposing it in a spirit of kindness to his brother of Constantinople, they asked him to confirm it with his suffrage.

Pope Leo, however, confirmed the remonstrances of his legates. He wrote three letters on May 22[2] in A.D. 452 to congratulate the Emperor, Pulcheria, and the Archbishop of Constantinople, Anatolius, on the maintenance of the true faith in the Council, and on the condemnation of the heresy of Eutyches.

But in those three letters, and in a fourth to the Bishop of Cos, he censured what he called the ambition and usurpation of Anatolius; and charged him with having subverted the decree of Nicæa with regard to the dignity of the Churches,[3] and with having exalted himself above the Patriarchal Sees of Antioch and Alexandria.

[8] *τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς.*

[9] Which are summarized by Hefele, ii. 543, and in Canon Bright's notes, p. 200.

[1] Concil. pp. 836, 837. Cp. Hefele, ii. 545, 546.

[2] Mansi, vi. 187, 195, 198, 207. Tillemont, xv. 727. Cp. Hefele, ii. 549—554, and Neander, iii. 226.

[3] Canon 6. See above, vol. i. p. 455.

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He wrote others to the same effect in the following year, A.D. 453.[4]

The result however was, that the 28th Canon of Chalcedon in a short time was generally received in the Eastern Church, and has remained an integral part of its Ecclesiastical Law to the present time.[5]

In conclusion we may say, that much as, in some respects, the difference is to be regretted which existed between Leo of Rome and his brother of Constantinople and the Eastern Bishops, with regard to the 28th Canon of Chalcedon, yet, in other respects, it may be regarded with thankfulness, as conveying instruction on important matters of doctrine and discipline, and as conducive to the edification and welfare of the Church.

First, it shows clearly that the notion of an universal and absolute Supremacy—such as is now claimed by the See of Rome, and is made by her a fundamental —indeed, *the* fundamental—doctrine of her system, and even of Christianity itself[6]—was wholly alien to the mind both of the Western and Eastern Church. Pope Leo himself did not claim it. His contention against the Council of Chalcedon and the Bishop of Constantinople was, that they had presumed to set aside the decrees of Nicæa by that Canon.

[4] March 21. Mansi, vi. 221, 225.

[5] See the remarks of the Greek Canonists—Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristænus—in Beveridge's Synodicon, i. 145—147; and Tillemont, xv. 729, 730, "Ce Canon subsista et fut exécuté malgré l'opposition de S. Leon et de ses successeurs;" and Canon Bright on the Canons, pp. 203, 204.

[6] Cardinal Bellarmine de Pontifice asks, p. 189 (tom. i. ed. 1615), "De quâ re agitur cum de primatu Pontificis agitur?" and his answer is, "Brevissimè dicam, de summâ rei Christianæ."

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The Nicene decrees on the subject are contained in the 6th Canon of that Council, and are as follows:[7]—

"Let the primitive customs prevail; let the Bishop of *Alexandria* have authority over all in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, inasmuch as a similar usage exists *with regard to the Bishop of Rome*, and also at *Antioch*. Likewise in the other provinces let their own precedence be preserved to the Churches."

What the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome then was, is stated by Rufinus; it was exercised over the *suburbicarian* churches, i.e. the churches near the *urbs*, or city, of Rome.[8]

Leo appealed to that Canon; he grounded his own claims upon it; and he charged the Bishop of Constantinople with ambitious usurpation, because he had been a principal party at Chalcedon in framing the 28th Canon, which raised his See to an equality with that of Rome, so as to be next after it, and so as to be above the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch.

But this had been done previously by another Council, the Second General Council, that of Constantinople[9] in A.D. 381.

That Council had given a primacy to Constantinople next to Rome, and had done so on the ground that it was *New Rome;* and the Bishops of Rome had acquiesced in that assignment.

The Bishop of Constantinople had likewise already exercised a great part of the jurisdiction which was specified in that Canon; and it was clearly competent for a General Council to modify territorial boundaries

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 454. [8] See ibid.
[9] Canon 3. See above, vol. ii. p. 338.

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of Dioceses and Provinces, and also to alter the order of precedence of Bishops after due deliberation, and with the consent of those whose rights were involved in such modifications. Besides, there was a strong desire in the East to abate the presumption of Rome. Rome herself (by the haughty bearing of the Legates at the Council) may have been the cause[1] of the Canon which she opposed so strongly.

The 28th Canon of Chalcedon was a corollary to the 3rd of Constantinople. And if the Eastern Bishops acquiesced, as they did, in the elevation of the See of Constantinople, on account of the imperial dignity of that City, above Alexandria and Antioch, this was a matter which the Bishop of Rome might well have left to be settled by those whom it concerned.

But it would be well for Christendom, if Bishops of Rome had followed the example of Leo the Great in one respect, and been content with that jurisdiction which was assigned to them by that Council to which he appealed, the first General Council of the Church, the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325.

The Nicene maxim, enunciated in that Canon, was, "Let the primitive customs prevail." Let Rome be content with that Canon; and the schism will cease which has rent Christendom for so many centuries.

Secondly, and *a fortiori*, it is evident that the Eastern Church had no notion of any such Supremacy over the See of Rome as it now claims.

It never could have ventured to frame and promulge the 3rd Canon of Constantinople, and the 28th Canon of Chalcedon, if it had ever dreamt of such a Supremacy. And those Canons, when framed and promulged by those Councils, would never have

[1] Such is the opinion of Tillemont, xv. 710.

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been *received*, as they have been, and are, to this day, by the whole of Eastern Christendom.[2]

Thirdly, while the proceedings at Chalcedon are a practical refutation of the erroneous theory of Papal Supremacy, they are also a clear illustration of the true doctrine of the divine institution of Episcopacy.

From such Canons as the 3rd of Constantinople and the 28th of Chalcedon, it has been shown by some of our best divines,[3] and others, that the *application* of the divinely constituted order and power of Bishops, in performing Episcopal functions within certain territorial limits—such as Dioceses, Provinces, and Patriarchates—is of *human institution*, and is subject to modification by the Church, acting in Synods together with Imperial and other civil powers when the Church is allied to the State; and that the rank of Bishops as to precedence may be changed; but that no earthly authority can in any way alter or affect the order and power of Bishops, which is derived from Christ Himself. All Bishops, as Bishops, are equal. As S. Jerome says, whether a man be Bishop of Rome, or of one of the smallest towns of the Roman Empire, makes no difference as to the essence of his Episcopal order and power;[4] because all are

[2] Bishop Beveridge (Synodicon, ii. 124) says, "It is evident from this Canon that the ancients attributed so much honour to the See of Rome, not because it was the See of Peter, nor because its Bishop was Vicar of Christ, but only because it was the Imperial City—*διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην.*"

[3] As Archbishop Bramhall, i. 177; ii. 186, ed. Oxf. 1842; Dr. Isaac Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 171, London, 1683; Hammond on Schism, i. 520; Bingham, ii. 14; xvii. 5; De Marca de Concordiâ, vi.

[4] "Ubicumque est Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, ejusdem est meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit," Jerome ad Evag. Epist. 85.

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equally successors of the Apostles, and derive their authority as Bishops, through the Apostles, from Christ.[5]

The Councils of Constantinople and of Chalcedon altered the precedence, and changed the territorial limits of the jurisdiction, of Bishops. But no ancient Council ever dreamt of making any change in the Order and power of Bishops as to those spiritual functions which they perform in the Church of God.

Indeed, in the Council of Chalcedon it was stated, that to degrade a Bishop to the rank of a Presbyter is sacrilege.[6]

Fourthly, this *difference* between Leo and the Eastern Bishops as to a question of *discipline* brings out in clearer light their *unity* in Christian *doctrine*.

The Church of Christ is indebted to Leo for his exposition of the true Faith in his letter to Flavian. That exposition was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon, which framed a declaration of its own on the same doctrines. Both these were promulged by the Council; and the decree which promulged them was cordially accepted by Leo, and by the Western and Eastern Churches.

One of Leo's most illustrious successors, Gregory the Great, in the sixth century declared that he received and observed the dogmatic decrees of the first four General Councils (Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon) with entire veneration, devotion, and approval. The Four Gospels[7] were placed

[5] Jerome, ibid., "Omnes Episcopi Apostolorum successores sunt." Cp. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, pp. 149, 151.

[6] Canon 29, not strictly a Canon, but a transcript from the Acts of the Council in its fourth Session. See Hefele, ii. 537, who calls it "a recognized rule of the Church." Cp. Beveridge, Synod. ii. 125.

[7] Gregor. Magn. ii. pp. 515, 632, ed. Bened. Paris, 1705, "Sicut

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on a throne in the Councils of the Church, and visibly betokened Christ's presence in them;[8] and He who had promised that presence to His Church, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, spake in those decrees which were *received* by the consent of the Universal Church, which is His Body and Spouse, and the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.[9]

The doctrine of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son of God, as declared in the Creed and dogmatic decrees put forth by those four General Councils, is summed up and clearly expressed in the Hymn *Quicunque Vult*, or Confession of our Christian Faith commonly called the Creed of Athanasius,[1] which

quatuor Evangelii libros, sic quatuor Concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor, totâ devotione complector, integerrimâ approbatione custodio."

[8] See above, pp. 215 and 271.

[9] Eph. i. 23; v. 32. Col. i. 18, 24. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

[1] The Athanasian Creed (as it is called) is commended by Richard Hooker (V. xlii. 12, 13) as the strongest safeguard against all heresies affecting the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, and by Dr. Waterland ("On the Athanasian Creed," vol. iv. 305) as the best exposition of those doctrines, and by Martin Luther as the "bulwark of the Apostles' Creed," and by Richard Baxter as "the best explication he ever read of the doctrine of the Trinity" (Method of Theology, pp. 1—3; Works, ii. p. 132).

Some writers (as Waterland, "History of the Athanasian Creed," and the Rev. G. D. W. Ommanney in their learned treatises upon that Creed) have assigned to the Athanasian Creed a date *prior* to the Council of Chalcedon. But if that Creed had been then in use, it would certainly have been quoted by Western writers, such as S. Leo, on the Eutychian Controversy.

The clear statements of doctrine in the Athanasian Creed (on the Trinity and Incarnation) are to be reckoned among the gains of the Church from the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. But this Confession of faith, though *posterior* to the Council of Chalcedon, must also, I conceive, be regarded as earlier than the end of the eighth century, when the heresy of Adoptionism arose, which was another form of Nestorianism,* and would certainly have been noticed in that Creed.

* See Gieseler, ii. 280, div. i. part ii. chap. iii.

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is like a song[2] of thanksgiving chanted by the

If the Canon of *Autun*, which commanded the Clergy to recite the Athanasian Creed (Labbe's Concilia, vi. 536), was enacted at the Council held there about A.D. 670 (as is supposed by some, e.g. Waterland, Athanasian Creed, chap. ii., and many others cited by him; and see Ommanney, p. 110), there is evidence of its being well known in France in the seventh century.

If I might venture to offer a conjecture as to its date, it would be as follows:—

This Creed, if we may so speak, is an *antagonistic* one. Its language is, "It is necessary to hold the *Catholic Faith*," and the consequences of not holding it are stated in very strong terms; and at the close it says, "This is the *Catholic Faith*; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved."

The Athanasian Creed is not like the utterance of any single person, however eminent in the Church, but it speaks with authority.

Those, its two peculiarities—its antagonistic and its authoritative character—seem to suggest a connexion with a remarkable era in the history of the Western Church.

At the close of the sixth century a whole Nation, the Visigoths of Spain and part of Gaul, with their King at their head, in a Council at which he was present with his Queen and about seventy Bishops, publicly renounced Arianism, which the Goths had professed and enforced, far and wide, for more than two centuries, and they heartily embraced and zealously propagated the *faith of Athanasius*.

This was done at Toledo, in the year 589, in the third Council held there by their good and great King Recared I. (Labbe, Concilia, v. p. 998), and was one of the most glorious reformations witnessed by Christendom; and it is eloquently described as such by Cardinal Baronius (Annales ad A.D. 589, tom. vii. p. 787; cp. Fleury, xxxiv. 55, 56; Hefele, Concilien, iii. p. 48).

King Recared I. was called the "*Catholic King*," because he renounced the Arian heresy and accepted the *Catholic Faith*, as held by Athanasius, and persuaded his people to do so. "Before all things it is necessary to hold the *Catholic Faith*. This is the *Catholic Faith*; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." These emphatic words of the Athanasian Creed would come forth with peculiar significance and with authoritative sanction from such a King, at such a time, and under such circumstances.

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[2] The *Quicunque Vult*, sung daily in some Western Churches, and at great festivals in others, is contained in the Symbolical books of other churches, and also in Prayer-books of the East, as in the Greek Horologium Magnum, Venice, 1868, p. 495.

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Church universal for her victories over heresy at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

The King opened that Council with a noble speech to the Bishops, in which he declared his faith. "It is a sign of salvation (he said) to *think* (*sentire*) of the *Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity.*" Compare the Athanasian Creed: "ita de Trinitate *sentiat.*" He acknowledged all the dogmatic definitions of the first four General Councils (Labbe, v. pp. 999—1006). The Council joined with him in this acknowledgment, and in condemning the heresy of Arius, and all who do not receive the decrees of those four Councils; and the King gave directions that this faith should be committed to writing, and be heard from the mouth of Bishops and others in the Church (p. 1000).

In the 1st Canon of this Council (p. 1009) a *fidei sanctæ Catholicæ Expositio* is mentioned. Perhaps the Athanasian Creed may have been the result of these deliberations.

When we proceed from the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, to the Fourth Council held there in A.D. 633, and examine its Acts (Labbe, v. 1703; Bruns, p. 221), we there see in the opening words of the Council a Confession of Faith which bears a striking resemblance to the Athanasian Creed. This was observed long since by Waterland (on the Athanasian Creed, chap. vi. p. 221), who says, "The Fourth Council of Toledo cites a considerable portion of this Creed, adopting it into their Confession. Baronius is positive that they took their expressions from this Creed." And similar remarks are made by Gieseler (ii. 279), who also says, "We should seek for the origin of this Creed in Spain." Some of these expressions may be mentioned. "We confess the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be of One Godhead and Substance; we believe the Trinity in a diversity of Persons, acknowledging the Unity in Divinity (qu. in Trinity?), *neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.* We confess the Father, *made of none*, and *begotten of none;* the Son, *not made, but begotten of the Father;* the Holy Spirit, *not created nor begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son.* We confess Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, *begotten of the substance of the Father before the Worlds, incarnate* of the Holy Ghost, and the holy Virgin Mary, the glorious Mother of God; her only Son; *equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood;* having in His one Person the properties of two Natures; *God and Man; not two,* but one Person in two Natures; Who suffered and died for our salvation; descended into hell, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge the quick and dead; and we who have been cleansed by His blood, and have obtained remission of sins, shall be raised by Him at the last day in our bodies; some, according to their good deeds, to inherit everlasting

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"The right faith is, that we believe and confess that

life; and others, according to their sins, to incur everlasting punishment. *This is the Faith of the Catholic Church, which whosoever shall have kept faithfully, shall inherit everlasting life.*"

A sixth Council was held at Toledo, A.D. 638 (Labbe, v. 1741; Bruns, 250), which expressed itself in similar terms, also coinciding with those of the Athanasian Creed. "In this Trinity there is Unity of Substance, so as not to be less in any one Person than in another. The Son of God is perfect God and perfect Man; equal to the Father in the form of God, and in the form of a servant inferior to the Father;" and at the close of the Confession are words similar to those of the Athanasian Creed. The eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 653, refers to the first four General Councils, and accepts their dogmatic decrees; and the eleventh Council of Toledo, A.D. 675, put forth what may be called a large Exposition of the Athanasian Creed (Labbe, vi. 542). "*The Father Eternal; the Son Eternal. The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God; the Father Almighty, the Son Almighty, the Holy Ghost Almighty. Every Person by Himself is God, and all the Three Persons are one God; and in this Trinity there is none greater or less than the other; none is before or after the other. The Son is perfect God and perfect Man, having two Natures in One Person; equal to the Father as God, and inferior to the Father as Man.* He died for us, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, and will come again to raise us up in our bodies, to give to every man according to his works. This is the confession of our faith, by which all heresies are destroyed." Similarly the Fourteenth Council of Toledo, A.D. 684 (Labbe, vi. 1282), and the Sixteenth Council, A.D. 693 (Labbe, vi. 1332), use the words of the Athanasian Creed. "*The Father is God Almighty, the Son is God Almighty, the Holy Ghost is God Almighty; and yet not three Gods, or three Almighties, but one God. The Father is of none; the Son is begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost proceeds from both. In the mystery of this Trinity none is before or after other.*" Many more coincidences occur in it. Indeed, the Confession of Faith by this latter Council is only an enlargement of the Athanasian Creed.

Most of these Councils of Toledo put forth also strong warnings to those who do not hold the Catholic Faith. Another connecting link between these Spanish confessions of faith, in the Councils of Toledo, and the Athanasian Creed, is that in them and in the Creed the Holy Ghost is asserted to proceed *from the Son* as well as from the Father. A Confession of Faith, containing this article so expressed, can hardly have been earlier than the end of the sixth century. The Churches of Spain and Gaul seem to have been the first to insert the *Filioque* in the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed (cp. Pearson on the Creed, Art. viii. note).

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our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the Worlds; and Man, of the substance of His mother, born in the world;

Perfect God, and Perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;

Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood;

Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but One Christ;

One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God;

One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by Unity of Person."[3]

The Son of God—thus confessed by the Church—

If this conjecture be well founded, that the Athanasian Creed owed its origin to the zeal of the Goths in Spain, when converted from Arianism in the sixth century, it would be an interesting fact to observe, that the Gothic Nation, which was perverted by the Emperor Valens (see above, vol. ii. p. 271) from Catholicism to Arianism in the fourth century, and which professed and propagated that heresy for more than two centuries, should have been made an instrument in God's hands in putting forth a Confession in which the Catholic Faith has sounded forth in the Churches of the West for more than a thousand years.

Let me add in conclusion, that the objection of some to the *Quicunque Vult*, that it was put forth by its composers under an assumed name, that of *Athanasius*, and that it is in fact a forgery, is grounded on a mistaken notion. It was *not* put forth originally as a *Symbolum* or *Creed*. It never bore that name in ancient times; but its ancient title was *Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii* (see Ommanney, p. 403), and all that was meant by that title was that they who used it professed the same *faith* as the great doctor of the Church, *Athanasius*, in opposition to the *heresy* of *Arius*. And this was specially true in Spain at the end of the sixth century, when the King and Nation publicly abjured Arianism, and embraced the Catholic Faith of Athanasius.

[3] The Greek translation of the Creed has *εἷς πάντως, οὐ συγχύσει φύσεων, ἀλλ' ἑνώσει ὑποστάσεων* (qu. *ὑποστάσεως*?).

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is the Rock on which she is built, and the gates of hell will never prevail against her.

The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon added nothing to the words of the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed; but by their dogmatic decrees they guarded the doctrine of the Incarnation as declared therein, and provided safeguards against all future assaults upon it.

Holy Scripture has revealed, that the History of the Church would record a succession of conflicts between good and evil, and of triumphs of good over evil after severe struggles.

It foretells also that the sharpest conflict—the climax and consummation of all—is reserved for the last; and that this conflict will be followed by a glorious Victory, the consequences of which will extend to Eternity.[4]

The History of the Church from the first Advent of Christ to the Council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century has already unfolded to our view a series of conflicts and conquests; and they who read the signs of the times, and meditate on the prophetic revelations of Holy Scripture, will probably feel a strong persuasion that the final conflict of the Church with the World will be for the maintenance of that doctrine which was declared by her in those four General Councils, the doctrine of the Incarnation, which will receive its full attestation from the Son of God Himself, when He will appear in His glorified humanity, and will raise the dead from their graves,

[4] I have endeavoured to develope these assertions in an historical summary of events in pp. xxiv—xxvii of my Introduction to the Minor Prophets.

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and will pronounce upon all their final sentence of bliss or woe.

We live among falling Institutions; the foundations of social and national fabrics are tottering; ancient dynasties are passing away; the sounds of disruption are heard like the crashes of vast masses broken off from the rock, and going down to the chasm below.

But amid this wreck of States and Empires, and amid the hurricane of popular revolutions, the faithful will remain unshaken, with the Scriptures in their hands, and with the history of the Church laid open to their eyes. They will remember Christ's promises to His Church, to be always with her even to the end, and to send to her the Holy Spirit to abide with her for ever. "Heaven and Earth will pass away, but His words will not pass away."[5] "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."[6] The Scriptures will remain unchanged and unchangeable; the Creeds of the Church will remain; her Apostolic Ministry will remain; the Church will continue to preach His Word, and to dispense His Sacraments unto the end of Time.

In the overflow of ungodliness she will see a warning of the near approach of her Lord; and in all her struggles for the faith in His Incarnation, she will find comfort in the remembrance that in the darkest days of her history He never failed to raise up able champions for its defence—Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, and Leo—and that He perfected strength out of weakness, and overruled evil for good, and evoked good out of evil;

[5] Matt. xxiv. 35. [6] Heb. xiii. 8.

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and that amid all the storms of human passion in Churches, Councils, and Courts, He has ever been enthroned in calm Majesty above the waterflood. And she will derive strength from the assurance that He will appear again with power and great glory to quell the surging tide of Antichristianism, which lifts up its proud waves against Him, and that He will put all things under His feet.

[7] I.e. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ (*Jesus Christ conquers*), a common inscription in Greek Churches. Compare John xvi. 33, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the World;" Rev. vi. 2, "He went forth conquering, and to conquer." Cp. Rev. xix. 11—16.

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